FORUM
Vol. CX No. 4

Between East and West

III. *Leon Jouhaux*

Third in a series of four portraits

By FREDERICK H. CRAMER
Professor of History, Mount Holyoke College

I

La France, une et indivisible, was the challenge with which the French Revolution defended the young republic against the enemy. Throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, the French have continued to maintain their fervent claim to the territorial integrity of their country. With France rent asunder in 1940 under the terms of the Hitler-dictated armistice of Compiègne, a magnificent closing of the ranks took place. Apart from a minority of Vichyites and pro-nazi Frenchmen, the great mass of the French people banded together in joint hostility against the invader. Along the great roads of France today, one modest marker after another attests the toll in lives paid by the *maquisards* in their struggle against the violator of *la belle France.* That (*after* the invasion of Russia!) the French Communists were among the most active underground fighters was no less typical than the fact that the leader of the whole resistance movement, General de Gaulle, had always belonged to the ultra-conservative, if not actually anti-republican, political camp, at least until the fall of France.

As soon as the common aim, the liberation of French soil from the German enemy and the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, was achieved, however, the magnificent spectacle of French unity once more turned into the only too familiar tragi-comedy of political dissension. This has been an outstanding factor in French affairs ever since the days of the French Revolution. It does reflect, of course, certain social and economic conflicts whose origins also go back to that tempestuous age. It is due to these long-range trends that France today has become the most important battlefield of Europe in the struggle between East and West. This battlefield surpasses even the German one in importance because in France, democracy as we know and appreciate it is at stake.

The crucial importance of France is all the more obvious, when one considers the fact that nowhere on the continent today or ever before has there existed another major power truly wedded to democratic tenets. Democracy has, of course, flourished in a number of lesser states like Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries, but in the realm of major continental powers France, and France alone, represented a bulwark of western democracy. Nevertheless, there are danger signals on the horizon, the most important of which is the apparent drift of the majority of the French voters (and these now include French women as well) toward the two extremist parties, De Gaulle's R.P.F. (*Rassemblement du Peuple Français*) on the

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right and the Communist Party of France, run by Moscow's two chief French puppets, Thorez and Duclos.

The great danger in this development lies in the fact that at the coming elections (which will replace the present national assembly by the first assembly elected under the new constitution) these two extremist groups will control the house, not necessarily by obtaining a clear majority at the polls but by gaining a bloc of votes, enabling the R.P.F. and the Communists jointly to wreck any French cabinet by voting against it. To forestall this, any government would have to try to please at least either one of the two non-democratic parties to obtain its tacit cooperation. Unless the drift of French sentiment should change considerably, the auspices favor the formation of such an alliance between the R.P.F. and non-socialist elements. If the R.P.F., now barely represented in the national assembly, emerges with a strong parliamentary representation from the elections, chances are that it will try to form a coalition government excluding certainly the Communists, but probably also the French Socialists. This would mean a fighting cleavage between left and right in France with consequences to be imagined. It would also be a heavy blow to French democracy. For even allowing for De Gaulle's best intentions (which are to establish a strong French executive without impairing the fundamental democratic institutions of French national life), the cry for a strong man at the helm has only too often in history led to the overthrow of democracy.

The more menacing and successful the Communists appear, the greater will be the number of Frenchmen attracted to the banner of De Gaulle. Conversely, if the red star of Moscow can be made to pale in the skies of France by a government other than an R.P.F., the chances for a pro-democratic response of the French voters are more favorable. The Schuman ministry, now fallen, has tried to do the well-nigh impossible in rallying the *troisième force* against the R.P.F. on one side, and the Communists on the other. In a sense, it represented democratic France, the finest ally of the democratic West on the continent of Europe against the totalitarian East. Should the R.P.F. emerge triumphant at the next elections—there is little chance of a Communist victory—France would certainly continue her cooperation with the West, but might conceivably fall victim to a "patriotic" non-democratic regime, comparable to that of Primo de Rivera in Spain, or even Mussolini's one-man rule in Italy. A De Gaulle regime in France, however, would only be the lesser of two evils. It would leave continental democracy represented by such feeble, although worthy, states as Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. Russian power in Europe might still be checked, but the cause of European democracy would not benefit from that. A democratic France represents the chief hope in this respect, and for that reason the development of the struggle between the democratic West and the totalitarian East is nowhere in Europe of greater importance than it is in France.

In an attempt to prevent a complete and probably irreparable rift between left and right in any European country today, one of the most important problems to be solved is the political affiliation of organized labor. Before World War II the Communists outside Russia had failed everywhere in their policy of conquering the key positions within the major unions. In many countries, therefore, they had established rival unions whose membership, especially during the great economic depression of the early thirties, gained in some cases considerably at the expense of established unions whose leadership favored the evolutionary Social-Democratic parties. World War II, however, particularly after Stalin's forcible conversion to the Allied cause (when Hitler spurned his offers and invaded Russia), witnessed the "merger" of the "Communist" unions with the others, the result being that the Communists were everywhere in control of most of the vital posts within the labor organizations. This development was of particular importance in facilitating the conversion to Moscow's camp of countries like Czechoslovakia and Hungary which contained relatively important industrial labor areas.

The post-war trend took exactly the opposite form in France. Up to now the Socialist Party, in spite of heavy dissension in its ranks and considerable defection on the part of the younger members, has withstood the Com-

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munist bait of an alliance. By participating wholeheartedly, although with considerable misgivings, in all post-war coalition governments (having seven ministers, for instance, in the Schuman cabinet), the Socialist Party exposed itself to the inevitable repercussions from the left. Also, by courageously sharing the political responsibility for the very unpopular government policy of stabilizing wages and salaries in order to combat strong inflationary tendencies, the Socialist Party has alienated many of its supporters and will in all likelihood suffer considerable reduction of votes at the polls.

French unionism seems to have resisted Communist tactics more successfully than almost anywhere else in Europe, except in England and the small continental democracies. True enough, the *Conféderation Générale du Travail* fell prey to Communist infiltration. It constituted the over-all organization of the overwhelming majority of French unions. Being thoroughly staffed with Communists, it became a very important bastion of Moscow's campaign against the West. Simultaneously, on the lower levels of individual unions, the indefatigable Communists had achieved similar success. One may say that until the late fall of 1947 the French labor-movement as such had become Communist dominated, even though the rank and file quite frequently were not in accord with this new state of things. But within the last ten months, however, open revolt has broken out within the C.G.T. Although the open conflict was directly due to the failure of the Communist-dictated general strike of November, 1947, it had been anticipated for some time by the man who finally raised the standard of rebellion within the union camp, Léon Jouhaux.

II

Léon Jouhaux, now in his seventieth year, was born in Paris on July 1, 1879 (not in 1878 as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has it), the son of a municipal worker. Eight years earlier the Commune, for a brief time, had gained sufficient control of Paris to establish a red regime in the still war-stricken French capital. The sanguinary reduction of the red revolt left a deep impression upon the French workers who, since the days of the French Revolution, belonged to the vanguard of the French left.

Of the battlefield of ideas, the Jouhaux family knew only the sector pertaining to the workers' struggle for better wages and a somewhat higher standard of living. Father Jouhaux had abandoned the poorly paid municipal job soon after little Léon's birth to try his luck in a matchmaking factory. A strike which strained the feeble resources of the Jouhaux family to the utmost caused Father Jouhaux to take the boy out of school at the age of 12. Instead of working towards a degree in engineering as he had dreamed, Léon was forced to earn money to help maintain the family. It need hardly be added that father Jouhaux was a staunch union member and taught his son that only through the labor unions could industrial workers hope to achieve a modicum of economic betterment, at least within the framework of capitalistic society.

The age-old tradition of sons following in the professional footsteps of their fathers is nowhere stronger than in France. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find young Léon at 16 entering the factory of Aubervilliers to try his hand at matchmaking. He was too young to be accepted as a regular union member, but was entrusted with the task of keeping the minutes of the union meetings. These were the years when the French Socialist Party, like its German sister-party, began to acquire a mass following of faithful voters from the very groups which also supported the union movement. Although continental unions tried far more strenuously than their British counterparts to maintain a theoretical aloofness from party politics, the fact was that everywhere the so-called "free" unions constituted the bulk of Socialist voting strength, while, for example, the Catholic unions provided a strong vote for specifically Catholic parties like the German Centrist Party.

Léon Jouhaux made his way to the foreground of French union affairs slowly and methodically. He learned the tricks of the union game and, at the same time, developed his skill as a fluent speaker and writer on technical union matters. Recognition came slowly, but in 1906 he was chosen by the *Bourse du Travail* of Angers as its representative within the *Division* of *Bourses du Tra-*

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vail in the C.G.T. He had found his real objective at last.

While young Briand and majestic Jaurès flourished within the French Socialist Party, Jouhaux remained content with the prospects of a career as union executive. His skill in negotiating and his finesse in inter-union wirepulling earned him in 1909 the crowning glory: election to the post of Secretary General of the C.G.T. He has been re-elected time and again, staying in office for not less than 39 years, a record in almost any career, and one that may be duplicated perhaps only by some American union czars if God grants them a sufficiently long life span. As everyone knows or should know, the secretary's post in any socialist or labor movement is of prime importance, forming, for instance, the wedge by which Stalin opened the gates to supreme power for himself. It cannot be doubted that Jouhaux's unique position in the history of the French union movement testifies to his extraordinary political skill and watchful energy.

Having won his success in the era of capitalism's heyday, Jouhaux was not, however, prone to embrace evolutionary socialism and a moderate policy which tended to confine itself to the seeking of concrete betterment for the workers rather than using them for political ends. Yet it was to be over this very issue that in the end he broke with his beloved C.G.T.

III

The European union movement, as well as the Socialist parties of the continent, have been handicapped by a factor alien to the labor movement in the United States: the conflict between national and international affiliation. As Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, the workers belonged automatically to the respective armies of their countries. They also, and this was more important, acutally felt very strongly French, German, or Italian, as the case might be. On the other hand, the international doctrines of socialism had everywhere attracted millions of voters, chiefly from the ranks of those very same industrial workers. Similarly, the unions had international affiliations, without, however, supporting more than a handful of common aims in the international field, among them that now outmoded fetish, the eight-hour day. The great test to see which one of the two contesting passions, nationalism or internationalism, would win in case of a general European war was provided in 1914. It proved the overpowering strength of national sentiment among the workers of the warring nations.

From 1911 to 1921, Jouhaux expressed his own views through *La Bataille Syndicaliste,* which he edited. They are particularly interesting during the period of World War I, revealing as they do the above-mentioned trend. From an ardent advocate of revolutionary policies Jouhaux changed during World War I, with the overwhelming majority of French workers, into a supporter of evolutionary socialism. He also advocated participation in the government, always a touchstone of French unionism. It should, incidentally, be born in mind that in France organized labor commands a wider area of labor than almost anywhere else. It includes in particular all branches of the French Civil Service whose right to strike has so far never been seriously questioned. Union power in France, therefore, is greater than anywhere else, except perhaps for our John L. Lewis.

Jouhaux's moderation began to pay dividends. At the end of World War I, he was chosen to represent France officially as a labor delegate to the committee in charge of formulating part XIII of the peace treaties, the international labor charter. In contrast to many of his colleagues, however, Jouhaux did not sell his socialist birthright for a mess of pottage. When the peace treaty was drafted in what seemed to him a discriminatory manner, he resigned his post on May 1, 1919. This act of courage at a time when post-war nationalism was still at white heat was typical of the man. It did not lose him the respect and the sympathies of French labor.

In October, 1919, he was sent to Washington to represent France at the International Labor Organization in which he soon occupied a leading position. Elected Vice-president in 1919, he has remained a labor delegate in that body ever since, keeping, in addition, the office of Vice-president. Quite naturally he favored the disarmament policy of which the Washington Conference was the most im-

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portant manifestation. He was not blind, however, to new threats appearing on the post-war horizon. When Moscow tried to dictate to the French labor movement in 1920, it was Jouhaux who was largely responsible for the defeat of Moscow's ambitious scheme at the congress of Orléans. With the same vigilance, he fought a few years later against the admission of fascist representatives to international labor organizations. In short, his line was clear: a labor leader whose youthful revolutionary ardor had gradually been replaced by the conviction that democratic processes provided sufficient evolutionary possibilities for labor's betterment within the existing framework of French institutions. The rotund, lively Jouhaux became a familiar figure at all international gatherings, where French labor was represented between World War I and World War II.

The collapse of France in 1940 was the end of the world in which Jouhaux had lived for more than 60 years. He went underground, but was detected by the Vichy regime after a year and a half of hiding. In December, 1941, he was arrested. At first he was interned in Vals-les-Bains, subsequently transported to Evaux-les-Bains, and finally, in April, 1943, deported to Germany. Along with a number of other French leaders, among them the Socialist Léon Blum, he was liberated before being liquidated; he returned on V-E Day, to resume his place as head of the C.G.T.

But times had changed. Even though Jouhaux was elected Vice-president of the newly established *Fédération Syndicale Mondiale* in October, 1945, he found that the placid life of pre-war union-officialdom had vanished. The permeation of the French union organization with militant Communists not only threatened his own position but that of his policy as well. While acting as a member of the French delegation to the United Nations in 1946 and 1947, he realized that at home the Communists were taking over his beloved C.G.T., leaving him and his few staunch supporters the thankless role of figureheads. President of the French National Economic Council since April, 1946, Jouhaux began to lay his counter-mines carefully. His political office was highly useful in enabling him to secure or renew important contacts.

The great showdown came with the failure of the Communist-led general strike of 1947. Together with Bouzanquet, then one of the C.G.T. secretaries, and some other labor leaders, Jouhaux resigned, breaking his long-standing affiliation with the C.G.T. A number of his followers in local unions resigned with him. At once they began to work for the re-establishment of a non-Communist nation-wide union organization, calling it the *Force Ouvrière*. So well had the plans been laid that almost at once a substantial number of the rank and file of French labor joined, among them large unions of the Civil Service. It seems worth quoting from Bouzanquet's original manifesto of December, 1947, in which he called upon the French workers to take their stand against Moscow:

> What unquestionably provokes the collapse of the general strike is the reaction of the French workers against the orders and slogans which have only remote connection with the cause of unionism. . . . No compromise is possible. . . . Our position . . . . is based entirely upon respect for democratic processes in unionism. . . . We remain faithful to the true tradition of the union movement.

How many French workers have followed the appeal of the new *Force Ouvrière* since those stormy December days is hard to gauge. Outside the civil service unions in which it has gained a very strong position, its strength is difficult to assess. The task of Jouhaux is not made any easier by the tenacity with which the French government has hitherto clung to its policy of trying for *la baisse,* i.e. a lowering of the cost of living, while keeping wages and salaries from going up. The great increase in prices which occurred last year has made the latter policy unworkable, and only the government's promise to lower prices by July 1 has kept labor from uniting in a general strike wave to force concessions.

July 1 has come and gone. Certain reductions have been pronounced on the price of some basic commodities like iron and steel, as well as appliances and other goods. Yet prices and the availability of food in particular are such as to inflict very real hardship upon all salaried and wage-earning Frenchmen. This has led to a general pressure on the part of

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organized labor to obtain some relief by increases of wages and salaries. Civil Service employees and teachers in particular were incensed about the tardiness with which the government proceeded to allocate to the different groups a total of 30 billion francs (about $90 million). Each group of government employees claimed a slice of this cake of such size that the sum total exceeded the entire allotment. Moreover, the slowness of the government in deciding upon the final allocation coincided with a new and as yet relatively small rise in the cost of living. No wonder, therefore, that large sections of French government functionaries decided upon a strike. The idea that "you can't strike against the government" is not one in which Frenchmen believe. Among those who struck were the teachers and professors who refused to grade the examinations of French students for the *Baccalaureat*, keeping thousands of youngsters and their parents on tenterhooks for weeks.

The employees of the Ministry of Finance also went on strike. That meant the complete standstill of all customs business. Borders were wide open with passports alone being checked by a few lonely policemen. Cigarettes became scarce due to the impossibility of attaching the tax-labels to the packages. Taxes no longer rolled in. Salaries of government employees could not be paid, since the payrolls could no longer be made up. A host of lesser strikes both inside and outside the ranks of government broke out as well. The most important thing was that this movement enjoyed the sympathy not only of French labor in general, but of the French people as a whole. For Jouhaux it was the first major test of his new *Force Ouvrière*. With the Communist-dominated C.G.T. indulging in over-all propaganda against the government (in which the Socialists held such unpopular portfolios as the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Police), Jouhaux had no choice. Here was a legitimate labor grievance if ever there was one. If he refused to heed the clamor from the ranks of his own followers, they would irrevocably rejoin the C.G.T. The situation resembled to an iota the Italian one. There, as well as in France, the workers as a whole, irrespective of political convictions, are severely underpaid, all rosy government statistics to the contrary. But union leadership in France is more intelligent than in Italy, even within the Communist-ruled C.G.T. At any rate the *Force Ouvrière*, as well as the C.G.T., are now engaged in a campaign to narrow the gap which exists in France between wages and prices.

The sharp differences between the two protagonists of French labor (omitting a number of smaller unions, including the Catholic ones) lies in the concept of the strike. The C.G.T. views each major strike as an opening wedge with which to crack the structure of the present French regime. In short, while not disdaining momentary economic gains from successful strikes, the C.G.T. leaders consider the strike as a means of furthering their revolutionary ends. Jouhaux's *Force Ouvrière*, on the other hand, retains the classical tradition of the strike as a means of bettering the economic lot of the strikers without ulterior political aims.

Whether or not Jouhaux's leadership is strong enough to rally a large section of French workers to his standard remains to be seen. He is, meanwhile, performing a vital function in the struggle between East and West in France. For only by dissociating at least a large segment of French organized labor from Moscow's brand of political unionism can France hope to preserve domestic peace within the framework of democratic institutions. Moreover, only by reviving the traditional "free" union movement in real strength can French labor support the political aims of evolutionary socialism. The "free" unions have everywhere been the chief supporters of evolutionary labor parties. They have certainly functioned that way in France in the past. At present the French Socialists are undergoing an eclipse similar to the one they are suffering in Italy. If ever their party comes out of its present coma, Léon Jouhaux's *Force Ouvrière* will have to receive most of the credit. It certainly at this time deserves all the support which its foreign counterparts in Britain and the United States can give it. Even if in the end Jouhaux should fail, his courageous example will be remembered by those, who in the struggle between East and West, are choosing to side with the West.

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Some statistics and their significance

GERMANY'S SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By SIDNEY B. FAY
Professor Emeritus of History, Harvard University

THE Nazis made a census of Greater Germany on May 17, 1939. Seven and a half years later, on October 29, 1946, at the direction of the Allied Control Council, a census was taken for the territory under military occupation by the four Allied Powers. A comparison of the statistics of 1939 and 1946 affords some interesting conclusions as to the great changes wrought by the war in Germany's social structure, and gives some hint of probable future trends. It also makes it possible to correct some current but mistaken notions, based on hasty observations or impressions of travelers, newspaper correspondents, and returning American GI's.

In spite of the heavy loss of population resulting from German soldiers killed, captured, and missing, and abnormal civilian deaths from bombing and other war causes, the population of occupied Germany was more than six million larger a year and a half after Hitler's collapse than it was in the same area at Hitler's heyday before his invasion of Poland —less than sixty million in May, 1939, and nearly sixty-six million in October, 1946.

This population of nearly sixty-six million was divided among the four Military Zones and Berlin as indicated in Table I. Greater Berlin, however, in contrast to the increase in Germany as a whole, had lost a quarter of its population. This loss was partly due to the frightful destruction of buildings by Allied bombing during the war years, and to Russian cannon fire during the last two weeks of fighting for the capture of the city. The loss was also caused by the wholesale Nazi evacuation of some of the population, especially of children, and of many of the official personnel of the ministries, archives, and museums to escape Allied bombing. Similarly, almost all the other large cities, in contrast to Germany as a whole, lost population because of bombing and evacuation during the war, and because of migration into rural districts in search of food in the semi-starvation period after the war. The following figures for 1939 and September 15, 1947, are typical for the loss of population in large cities: Hamburg, 1,692-1,438 million; Munich, 828-767; Cologne, 768-512; Frankfurt, 526-445; Dortmund, 537-456.

Another change, made by the Nazi before and during the war, was the shifting of the industrial population from Western to Eastern Germany. A great many new war plants were set up East of the Elbe in Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Thuringia, and elsewhere, so that even before 1939 some of the cities in the overcrowded Ruhr area had absolutely, as well as relatively, less population than they had in 1933. Hitler's purpose, of course, was to have as many of his war plants as far removed as possible from attack by British and French planes in case of war. But his purpose was only partially achieved because of two developments which he had not foreseen, or at least not adequately reckoned with: the enormous extension of flight range of bombing planes during the war, and the entry into the war of the United States with its mighty armada of aircraft.

The accompanying table gives the population for Berlin and the four Military Zones before and after the war. It also shows two very unfortunate conditions, characteristic of all

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Germany (except the French Zone and the postwar big cities): the increasingly excessive density of population, and the increased excess of females over males:

TABLE I

PRE-WAR AND POST-WAR POPULATION OF OCCUPIED GERMANY

Military Zones	Population in millions		Density of pop. per sq. kil.		Number of females per 100 males	
	1939	1946	1939	1946	1939	1946
Russian	15.2	17.3	141	161	103	134
British[1]	19.8	22.3	201	227	103	119
American[2]	14.3	17.2	133	160	105	121
French[3]	6.2	5.9	145	139	103	126
Berlin	4.3	3.2	4,908	3,597	119	146
Occupied Germany[4]	59.8	65.9	167	185	104	125
Lost East of Oder[5]	9.5		84		105	
Germany in 1937[6]	69.3		147		104	

1 Not including the Bremen Enclave.
2 Including the Bremen Enclave.
3 Including the Saar Territory and 33 villages of the Bavarian Palatinate annexed to the Saar Territory, all of which have now been included in the French economic system and virtually annexed to France.
4 West of the Oder-Neisse rivers.
5 Territory East of the Oder-Neisse rivers, formerly part of Germany, but by Allied agreement provisionally placed partly under Russian and partly under Polish control; although by agreement the boundaries were to be fixed when a peace treaty was signed with Germany, these territories East of the Oder have been practically annexed by Russia or Poland, and are therefore lost, at least for the time being, to Germany.
6 Including the territories East of the Oder but not the annexations made by Hitler between 1937 and 1939.

The Bremen Enclave is a district around the lower course of the Weser river, including the ancient Hanseatic Free City of Bremen and the relatively modern deep water port of Bremerhaven, constructed for ocean liners of the North German Lloyd Line and for other large sea-going craft. Being wholly surrounded by territory under British military occupation, the Bremen Enclave was at first reckoned part of the British Zone, although the United States was accorded some commercial and other rights within it, since it was the best port for landing the enormous supplies of food and other commodities coming from North America. Later it was transferred to American administration and is now reckoned part of the American Military Zone, which is divided into the four *Laender,* or states, of Bavaria, Wuertemberg-Baden, Hesse, and Bremen. But as Bremen was treated as British at the time of the 1946 census, it will not be included in the following analysis of the American Zone.

Although the four Allied Military Zones roughly resembled one another in their social structure in 1946, their economic and political conditions differed considerably, and these differences have increased rather than diminished in recent years during the "cold war" between East and West. In view of the complicated regional differences, it would be difficult to give a detailed picture of the social structure of the whole of Germany today. In the following account, therefore, it is mainly the American Zone, not including Bremen, that will be discussed. Furthermore, the statistics for the American Zone are more fully available than for the other three Zones. They were published in November, 1947, by the United States Office for Military Government for Germany, and it is from them that the larger part of the following figures and conclusions have been taken. Supplementing them, however, are other statistics based on rationing cards, special samplings, and other information collected after the census of 1946.

The fact that Germany's population was more than six million larger in 1946 than in 1939 was due to two factors: the excess of births over normal deaths, and, far more important, the tremendous immigration, unparalleled in history, of unhappy evacuees, expel-

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lees, and refugees from the former German territory East of the Oder, from Czechoslovakia, and from other eastern countries, into Occupied Germany, and some migration within Occupied Germany.

This increase was partly offset by losses of population owing to the detention abroad of German prisoners of war, to soldiers still missing, and to war deaths among soldiers and civilians.

A summary of these gains and losses for the three American *Laender,* not including Bremen and nearly half a million Displaced Persons inside and outside of internment camps, at the time of the 1946 census, was as follows:

TABLE II

CHANGES IN POPULATION, THE UNITED STATES ZONE, 1939 TO 1946

GAINS:		
1. Excess of births over normal deaths		375,000
2. Immigrants from outside Occupied Germany, i.e.:		
(a) Former German territory East of the Oder	697,000	
(b) Czechoslovakia	1,345,000	
(c) South Eastern Europe	300,000	
(d) Other foreign countries	287,000	
Total	2,629,000	2,629,000
3. Immigrants from Russian, British, French Zones		675,000
Total New Persons		3,679,000
LOSSES:		
1. P.O.W.'s not yet returned		410,000
2. Missing soldiers		330,000
3. War deaths among soldiers and civilians		451,000
Total war deaths and unreturned persons		1,191,000
Net increase of population, 1939-1946		2,488,000
Population in 1939		13,734,000
Population in 1946		16,222,000

The German birth rate during the past hundred years has fluctuated rather violently. Under the stimulus of political unification and industrial expansion, it rose rapidly in the third quarter of the nineteenth century to an all-time high annual rate in 1880 of 39 per thousand of population. As the death rate was still rather high, prior to Bismarck's social insurance legislation and the later advance in infant and maternal care, the net increase in population in 1880 was only 13 per thousand of population. From this time until World War I, in Germany, as in all the more advanced countries of Europe, the annual birth rate fell slowly to 27 per thousand in 1913, with a net annual increase of 12 per thousand.

As a result of this fairly high birth rate for half a century, Germany's 5-year age groups showed an almost perfect pyramid, as seen in the accompanying chart for the year 1910. Each bar represents a 5-year age group, divided into males and females, which is a percentage of the total population. The pyramid has a broad base, with the children from 0-4 years of age being the largest group, and tapers off toward the top with shorter bars representing the older 5-year age groups. The number of males and females is nearly equal, there being only a slight excess of females, chiefly in the age groups 60-64 and higher, resulting chiefly from soldiers killed in the unification wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870-71. This healthy type of pyramid was more or less typical for the populations of all Western European countries in 1910, and is still fairly typical today for Russia, where the birth rate has remained high.

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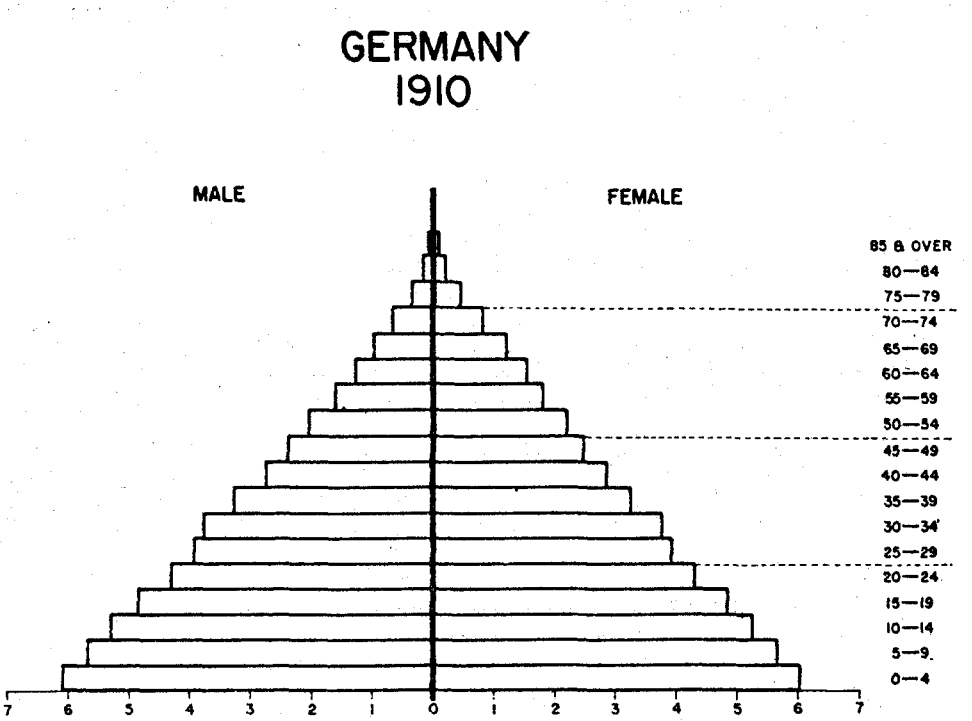
But it is very different from the unhealthy skewed pyramid of the German population in 1946 which demonstrates the bad effects of two World Wars.

AGE STRUCTURE IN PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION



In 1920, with the return of soldiers to their homes and with the momentary optimism accompanying the establishment of the Weimar Republic, the birth rate again rose to 26 and the net increase was nearly 11 per thousand. But from 1921 to 1933, with the reparations burden, the catastrophic inflation, and the world-wide depression, the birth rate fell steadily, being only 14.7 in 1933, the net increase being only 3.5 per thousand that same year. Then, under the artificial prosperity created by Hitler and with his measures to promote marriages and child-bearing, the birth rate rose somewhat during the years 1934-39, and the average annual net increase was about 7 per thousand. But during World War II, just as during World War I, the birth rate fell sharply, and the net increase sank to an annual average of 3.4 per thousand.

In the second chart the pyramid showing the age structure of the population in 1946 in the American Military Zone (which is fairly typical for all Germany), illustrates three catastrophic effects of the two World Wars:

1. The smallness of the bars of the two age-groups of 25-34, who were born between 1912-1921, reflects the low birth rate for both sexes during World War I. And the fact that the male bars are much smaller than the female results from the soldiers killed, missing, or not returned from captivity in World Wars I and II.

2. The great excess of females over males in *all* the age-groups, except those from 0-15 who were born between 1931 and 1946 and were, of course, too young to serve as soldiers, is due mainly to the soldiers killed, missing, and not returned, in *both* World Wars. In the American Zone, on an average for the whole population, there were 124 females for every 100 males (or 121 for every 100 if the population of the Bremen Enclave is reckoned in). The excess of females in other parts of Germany in 1946 varied from 146:100 in Berlin

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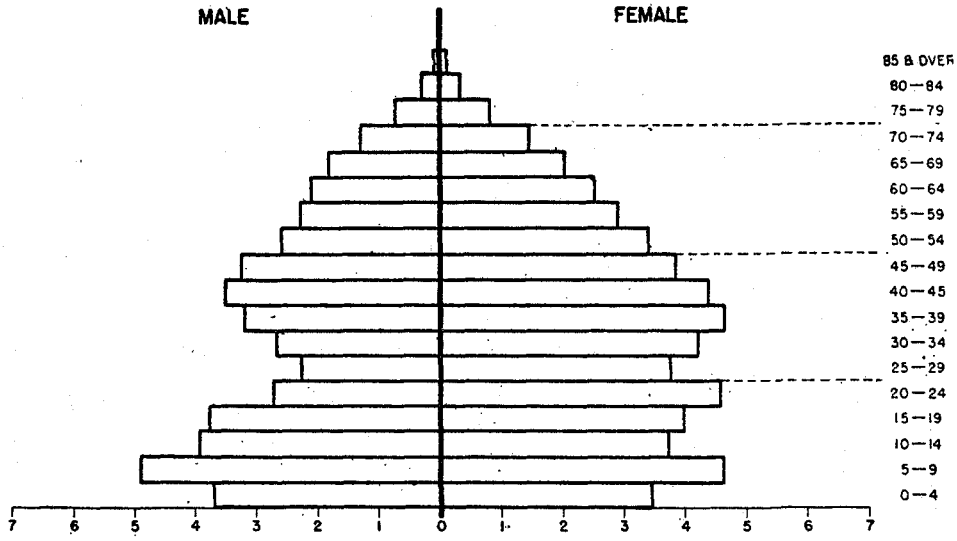
AGE-SEX STRUCTURE

TOTAL POPULATION, U.S. ZONE, GERMANY NATIVE & IMMIGRATED, OCT. 1946

IN PERCENT



to 118:100 in the British Zone, the average for all Germany being 125:100. But this does not tell the whole story about the unhealthy disproportion between men and women, as we shall see a little later.

3. The smallness of the youngest age-group, with slightly *more boys* than girls, reflects the very low birth rate during World War II. This and other factors to be mentioned in a moment suggests that in the future, for a generation at least, the two or three youngest age-groups will be relatively small, and the middle-aged and older groups will be relatively large. This will mean that in 1966, for instance, the pyramid will not only be askew with an excess of females, but it will deviate even more from the fairly perfect pyramid of 1919; it will look like a Byzantine church tower or like the "onion" towers which are so picturesque in Bavaria—pointed toward the top, swelling out in the middle, and drawing in toward the base.

The birth rate rose again after World War II, just as after World War I, but to a much slighter degree. In 1947 it was 13.2 per thousand of population, with a net increase of 3.5 per thousand, according to statistics of 94 larger cities and towns in the three Western Military Zones. This tallies with a net increase of 3.6 for the whole population of the American Zone, according to statistics based on ration card figures.

More boys than girls, but more women than men—this is the paradox of Germany today, and it is a consequence of the two wars. For it is a curious and interesting phenomenon of birth statistics during and after a war that considerable more boy babies are born than girl babies—as if Nature were trying to make up for the men killed in war in order to restore a happy equilibrium between the sexes.

From 1919 to 1933 an average of 106.6 boy babies were born for every 100 girl babies every year in Germany as a whole. Consequently, in 1933, in spite of the slightly higher mortality rate among boys than girls, the census of 1933 showed an excess of boys over girls varying between 14,000 and 21,000 for

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every 1-year age group born between 1919 and 1933. This tendency continued after 1933, so that in 1946 in the American Military Zone (whose population of 16.2 million was about one quarter of that of all Occupied Germany), the boys under 14 numbered 1,904,000 and the girls only 1,873,000, although for the population of the Zone as a whole there were 8,971,000 women and only 7,251,000 men, because of soldiers killed, missing, or not returned.

The excess of boy over girl babies after a war is a most fortunate phenomenon, because it tends slowly to correct the disequilibrium caused by men killed in war. It used to be explained as an example of the wisdom of Divine Providence. Later it was commonly explained on the theory that girl embryos are more complex in their anabolic structure and require more nourishment than boy embryos; and that since mothers had less nourishment in times of privation during and after wars, the embryos tended to develop into boys instead of into girls. This theory, however, seems to be contradicted by everyone's own daily observation. In normal times mothers having a more or less uniform and adequate diet give birth now to boys and now to girls within the same family. More recently biologists have come to believe that nourishment during pregnancy makes no difference in sex because this is definitely determined by the character of the sex chromosomes from the first moment that the female ovum is impregnated by the male sperm. But why, during and after wars, the male chromosomes are more numerous or more effective the biologists cannot tell us. So perhaps we must fall back again upon Divine Providence.

Leaving the happy phenomenon of more boys than girls, let us come back again for a moment to the grim reality of more women than men in Germany today. We said that the ratio of 124 females to 100 males in the American Zone in 1946 does not tell the whole story. That is because this is the ratio for the whole population, including young and old. But the ratio in the most productive ages from 20 to 40 is much more unhealthy—161 women to 100 men. This scarcity of men in the most productive ages in the American Zone, which is also more or less typical for the other Zones, is the outstanding feature of Germany's social structure today. It has all sorts of serious biological, social, and economic consequences. It means that now, and for several years to come, there can be no hope of marriage for more than a third of the young women, and consequently a low birth rate for the population as a whole. The family will play a smaller and less cohesive role in social life and organization.

The scarcity of men in the wider range of more or less productive ages from 15 to 65, where the ratio is 136 women to 100 men, means a great change in the labor market. Women will have to take on a large part of the jobs formerly held by men. But as women have less physical strength than men, this will mean a lowered efficiency in heavy work like mining, metal work, and much of forestry and agriculture. This in turn lowers the standard of living. Furthermore, since 1939 there has been a shift in the proportion of younger men, aged 15-39, to older men, aged 40-65. In 1939, 36.5 per cent of all the men aged 15-65 were in the second half of the more or less productive age range 16-65, that is, were 40 years or older. But in 1946 the percentage of older men in the older half was 47.2 instead of 36.5.

The demand for labor nowadays in advanced countries is highly specialized by age and sex. The technological skills of modern life cannot be learned over-night. Since this double economic change in German labor conditions, from men to women, and from younger men to older men, came rather suddenly as a result of the war, the labor market has not been able to adapt itself to the changes, as might have been the case if they had come slowly over a long period of readjustment. This is one of the reasons for the paradoxical co-existence of unemployment and a shortage of labor.

These unfortunate aspects of the labor population of the productive years are all the more serious because there are, and will be, more people 65 years of age and older who will have to be supported in large part from the labor of women of productive age. The people who were 65 and older formed 9 per cent of the total population of the American Zone in 1946, as compared with 7.5 per cent

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in 1939; in Germany as a whole the old people of 65 and over formed 7.1 per cent in 1933, and only 4.9 per cent in 1910. This increase in the proportion of old people to the total population, due mainly to a falling birth rate and to greater longevity as a result of advances in medicine and health conditions, is, of course, not peculiar to Germany alone. It has been more or less characteristic during the past half century of all advanced countries. It is what gives the structure of their age groups the appearance of an "onion tower" with curved sides instead of a perfect pyramid with straight sides.

From a political point of view, the fact that there are more women than men means that the women could, if they wished, exercise the decisive influence in elections and in political life in general. But this runs contrary to German tradition, and so far German women do not seem to have risen to their political opportunities.

Another outstanding demographic fact was the high proportion (over 20 per cent) of immigrants to the native population of the American Zone in 1946—3,304,000 (i.e. 2,629,000 plus 375,000) in a total population of 16,222,000 in 1946, as shown in Table II above. In other words, one person in every five in the Zone had come in as an immigrant since 1939.

Practically all of these immigrants were German-speaking and of German ethnic stock, though only about a quarter of them were former German subjects. They settled in, or were directed to, the rural areas in the American Zone, because in the rural areas the food and housing shortage was not quite so bad as in the cities which had been bombed. Hence the proportion of immigrants was much higher in the rural districts than in the Zone as a whole; in some districts and villages nearly half the population was made up of this flood of immigrants. As the native population was made responsible for feeding, housing, and clothing the immigrants, there was inevitably a vast amount of overcrowding, friction, and hatred.

It is also a common impression that the immigrants were made up in large part of women, children, and aged people of both sexes, and that they consequently increased the evils of excess of females over males and of the large number of dependents who had to be supported by persons of productive age. But a careful analysis of the statistics shows that this impression is generally incorrect. The age-sex structure of the immigrant population was generally no worse and was in some respects better, than that of the native population. Though the immigrants have increased the problems of food-shortage, housing shortage, and unemployment, they have not generally accentuated aspects of the age-sex structure of the native population which were caused by the two World Wars.

Since 1946 there has been a small infiltration of immigrants, but it is growing less and is almost negligible in comparison with the great influx between 1939 and 1946. The immigrants are gradually adapting themselves to the new conditions, learning new skills, and becoming assimilated, though the percentage of unemployed among them is still much higher than among the native population.

As to the future, it is, of course, hazardous to prophesy. However, one can suppose that no catastrophic changes will occur, and one can take into consideration the various factors mentioned above: the probable return of a considerable part of the P.O.W.'s; very slight further immigration; a low birth rate and mortality rate; a gradual tendency toward an equalization of the number of men and women and more marriages, as a result of the probable post-war excess of boy babies over girl babies, and an increase in the proportion of old people of 65 and over. Judging by these past and present trends, and assuming the birth rate of 1928-32 and the mortality rate of 1932-34 as perhaps typical of the future, we can estimate by projection that the population of the American Zone, which was 16,222,000 in 1946, will increase slightly to 16,855,000 in 1956, and will then decline slightly to 16,780,000 in 1966, and continue to decline thereafter.

As the population of the American Zone is nearly one quarter of that of all Occupied Germany, these figures for 1956 and 1966, if multiplied by four, would approximate roughly the probable population of all Germany.

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Why we must stay
in Berlin

LESSONS OF THE BERLIN CRISIS

By FELIX E. HIRSCH

Professor of History and Librarian at Bard College; former political editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*

IT was neither a Communist nor an anti-capitalist paper that contained this comment on the Berlin controversy: "The Western countries have blundered into this crisis and are only just beginning to realize the intensity of the dilemma with which they are faced. They have every right to be furiously angry with the so-called leaders who put them there. But anger will not get them out. Only hard thought and high courage will do that." Thus wrote *The Economist* (London), one of the world's most fearless and best informed journals, on July 24. Harsh criticism coming from such a source deserves more attention than do the shrill voices of those who habitually blame the responsible statesmen in Washington and London for all the ills of our time. It may be a worth-while undertaking to examine the Berlin crisis and its effects in the light of *The Economist's* remarks and to ponder the degree of their justification.

But before we attempt this sober analysis, we should go back for a moment to some of the critics at home and especially to the violent attack which Henry Wallace launched against the American policy in Germany. In his acceptance speech in Philadelphia on July 24, he said: "Berlin need not have happened. Berlin did not happen. Berlin was caused." To him it seemed dangerous that the peace of the world should hang on the actions of "a handful of military men stationed in Germany." He did not believe that any American public interest was served by a showdown in Berlin and he exclaimed: "I have yet to meet the American in shop or field or college or independent business who wants to give up his life to defend Dillon, Reed or to obtain the privilege of feeding two million people in Berlin." Wallace did not believe that the American people, except for a few individuals, would lose prestige by a fundamental discussion of peace with Russia. He concluded bitterly: "Our prestige in Germany went sinking when we divided Germany and established the Western sector as an American and British Puerto Rico—as a colony. When we did that, we gave up Berlin politically and after having done that we can't lose anything by giving it up militarily in a search for peace."

Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State and a diplomat of many accomplishments, has come from a different political outlook to a somewhat similar conclusion. In the *New York Herald Tribune* of August 24, he advocated a general settlement between the four great powers whereby Germany would be divided provisionally into two states, with Berlin the capital of a Russian-dominated Eastern Germany and Frankfurt the capital of a Western Germany under Western control. "Such a settlement," Welles admitted, "would imply the voluntary withdrawal of the Western powers from their exposed position in Berlin. It is a bitter price to pay for their own lack of foresight."

Where, then, did American statesmen show the "lack of foresight" that Welles castigated? When were the basic errors committed which eventually led the four war-time Allies to the brink of a third world conflagration? Is it fair to accuse, as Wallace does, the men who are now advising President Truman, e.g., Sec-

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retary Forrestal, General Draper, and John Foster Dulles? Is it only the recent "get tough policy" which led to the impasse with Russia? The real mistakes were made in 1945, in the negotiations at Yalta and Potsdam. Under the circumstances, a quadripartite occupation of Germany was then inevitable, although history has taught us that great risks are always involved in such a joint control, even if the partners are not suspicious of each other. Of the four victors, Russia had made such great contributions towards defeating Hitler that she was certainly entitled to an equitable share in ruling the vanquished country. The grave error was committed when the division of the occupation zones was decided upon. In retrospect (and the present writer may add that he was of this opinion as early as 1945), it seems hard to understand why the Russians were permitted to go beyond the natural Elbe-line and to include all of Saxony and Thuringia in their area of domination. From the economic and strategic point of view, they received thus far more than their proportional share; their military position in the heart of Europe became much more threatening than it would have been had the Elbe river been made the dividing line. Secondly, the compromise about the control of Berlin was unworkable from the outset. American and British statesmen ought to have insisted on a small strip of land connecting Berlin with the Western zones and should not have relied on the optimistic belief that the Russians would always be cooperative. On the eve of victory when the future looked bright, it was probably hard to foresee the stubborn Russian attitude of today, but even in Yalta and Potsdam it should have been possible to make a somewhat more realistic estimate of post-war diplomatic relations and to protect our position in the German capital against any emergency.

For the third basic error every American citizen bears a certain co-responsibility. This is the almost complete demobilization of the United States Army shortly after hostilities ceased. The authorities in Washington acted hastily and unwisely, but only because they were under the overwhelming pressure of public opinion which wanted to "get the boys home" at lightning speed, even though this meant the hazardous weakening of our occupation forces in Europe. Russian expansion could have been held in check, had a strong American army kept the watch on the Elbe. Peace between two more or less antagonistic super-powers cannot be preserved, if the one is heavily armed and ready to strike at any moment, while the other keeps only a token force in the critical area. The Russians certainly would not have dared to raise the Berlin issue in the form they did, if a sufficient American army of occupation had been stationed in Western Germany. Our Western European friends cannot be relied upon in this respect. Henry Wallace may be wrong on all other points, but he said correctly in Philadelphia: "There is not a single nation on the European continent prepared to put an army into the field to defend Anglo-Saxon, that is, British and American, policies." Inasmuch as the United Nations have not yet developed a security force, the American Army, Navy and Air units must be strong enough to protect the peace of the world against any potential aggressor. In this connection, it may be wise to heed the somber warning given by *The Economist:* "Too much reliance can easily be put in the atomic bomb. Russia is a vast country, not easy to knock out with a few well-placed bombs, as is Japan—or Great Britain."

AMERICAN POLICY

The fourth major misfortune has been the apparent lack of a consistent American policy in regard to Germany. There have been too many vacillations. The public has been frequently under the impression that some of the responsible statesmen in Washington did not possess a clear concept of, or did not fully agree upon, the place Germany should occupy in the future political and economic framework of Europe. The Marshall Plan with all its ramifications certainly brought great improvement in this respect, but more coordination is still needed to allay suspicions abroad about our ultimate intentions. Furthermore, foreign observers should not be able to detect divergencies between the attitudes of our State Department and our military government and to draw unfavorable conclusions from them. There is also an urgent demand for more teamwork with our European allies on the German issue. While at the moment the

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diplomatic collaboration with the English seems to be rather effective, the same cannot be said with equal certainty about our relations with the French. The rapid sequence of cabinet crises in Paris makes such a close cooperation somewhat problematic. On the other hand, how can the United States enforce its Central European policy permanently without full French backing? At present, the leaders of the Fourth Republic support our plans for Germany only with the utmost reluctance and hesitation. M. Bidault, for instance, lost his job as Minister of Foreign Affairs, in spite of all his achievements, when he made too many concessions to the Anglo-Saxon point of view. The French, haunted by the sad experiences of two world wars, have a natural desire to see Germany economically weak and politically disunited, and it will be hard to convince them that their approach to the problem is shortsighted. Once more *The Economist* is correct in saying: "It is not in this confusion of purpose and counsel that decisions can emerge clear, vigorous and convincing enough to save the cause of Western democracy."

AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

But it would be utterly wrong to see only the flaws in the policies of the Western powers. The Berlin crisis brought out also some unexpected strength. Above all, the Russian blockade made public opinion in the democratic countries aware of what is at stake. While the American public would now rather concentrate its attention on the Presidential elections and on high prices, a vast majority of Democrats and Republicans realize that our peace and security would be threatened if the Russians were able to take over full control of Berlin and, therefore, they support the firm stand taken by the United States government. Even Walter Lippmann, who had been very critical of recent American policy in Germany, left no doubt (in his column in the *New York Herald Tribune* of August 26) that Berlin could not be surrendered; for this would inevitably lead to the loss of the whole of Germany. "To stay in Berlin is to hold on to the right which we won in the war, to play a full part in the settlement of Germany and of Europe. To leave Berlin is to surrender that right and to commit the future of Germany to the arbitrament of war or to intrigue and secret negotiation between the Germans and the Russians." Like Lippmann, most American and British political observers are agreed that nothing can be gained from an attempt to appease the Politbureau. The lesson of Munich is still in everybody's memory. The American authorities see clearly that Mr. Wallace is wrong in his contention that the prestige of the United States is not at stake. They realize that if they gave in now, the whole costly attempt at an economic and political reconstruction of Western Europe would collapse like a house of cards, and the German and French people would feel that they were delivered to the Russians.

The second gain derived from the Berlin crisis is of a technical character. The American air force proved once again that it stands ready to meet the most unusual emergency. It certainly is quite a feat to supply more than two million people with food and coal by an around-the-clock air-lift; during August, a daily average of more than 3,000 tons was maintained. The pessimists who thought that the shuttle service from Frankfurt could not continue over an extended period were proved wrong. Probably it could not be sustained during the worst part of the winter, but sufficient reserves of the essential food and fuel could be built up in the meantime. As we know so little about Russian political calculations, it is hard to estimate whether the men around Stalin would have started the blockade of Western Berlin had they foreseen the effectiveness of the American and British air communications. Certainly, the air-lift enabled the State Department and General Lucius D. Clay, the resourceful and energetic chief of the United States Military Government in Germany, to take the Russian threat more calmly and, at a later stage, to negotiate about a settlement of the Berlin problem without undue nervousness. The fact that the supply of a metropolis by airplanes is very costly seems negligible in view of the political respite gained by this means. Otherwise we would have been obliged by now to make the horrible choice between war and ignominious appeasement.

The third great advantage derived from the Berlin developments is less tangible but certainly not less real. We have been able to

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test the true sentiments of millions of Germans. No cleverly drawn-up public opinion poll, no secret intelligence investigation could have been more revealing. The people of the three Western sectors of Berlin were offered many a bribe by the Russians and their German collaborators, if they were willing to surrender their freedom. The Soviet authorities proposed to feed them and to grant them other advantages, but evidently most inhabitants of the Western sectors would rather starve than accept the Russian "benefactions" which looked too much like Trojan horses.

BERLIN DEMOCRATS

Mr. Ernest Bevin, the British foreign secretary, has commended "the stout-hearted democrats of Berlin," and they certainly deserve such praise. They proved again what the pseudo-experts of the Vansittart type had tried to make us forget, namely, that the inhabitants of the German capital can neither be lured by Communism nor by perverted nationalism. In this attitude they remained loyal to the tradition of a century in which the citizens of Berlin consistently supported democratic parties of the liberal bourgeois or the socialist variety. They fought Bismarck; they ridiculed William II. Even Nazism gained a foothold here only long after it had entrenched itself in Munich, Nuremberg and other cities of the South. The majority of the Berlin workers did not fall for Communism, in the winter of 1918, when it was presented to them in the fiery oratory of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. They care even less for it when Marshal Sokolovsky acts as spokesman. The newspaper *Neues Deutschland,* chief organ of the Soviet-controlled Socialist Unity Party, sheds (in its issue of August 8) some crocodile's tears about the "sabotage" by which the majority of the Berlin city administration prolonged the sufferings of the people in the Western sectors. But the municipal leaders of the Social Democrats, Acting Mayor Frau Louise Schroeder and Dr. Otto Suhr, as well as their "bourgeois" associate, Deputy Mayor Dr. Ferdinand Friedensburg, knew what was at stake and did not waver, in spite of the recent organized attempts of Communist mobs to take over the City Hall. It would have been unthinkable that the Western democracies

Smith for the *NEA Service, Inc.*

"MIGHT AS WELL RELAX, CHUM, THEY'RE NOT LEAVING!"

could have let such friends (even though they were former enemies) down and abandoned the city. This would have meant certain death in the slave labor camps of Siberia for all those brave men and women of Berlin who had actively supported the Allied cause. On the other hand, it would have killed forever any sentiment among democratic Germans to rely on and cooperate with the Anglo-Saxon powers, and a measure of this sympathy is needed, if we want to rebuild Western Europe at a rapid pace.

On July 21, the *New Times* (Moscow) had emphatically declared that "Four-Power negotiations can succeed only if they are not confined to the question of the administration of Berlin, inasmuch as that question is inseparable from the general Four-Power control for the whole of Germany." In the meantime, the Soviet government seems to have changed its mind to some extent. For shortly afterwards the Western allies initiated negotiations in Moscow which evidently centered around the Berlin issue. On September 26, the governments of the United States, Great Britain, and France informed Russia that they considered the blockade of Berlin "a threat to international peace." They broke off negotiations and turned the matter over to the Security Council.

In this fast-living age few people remember that only three years ago Stalin, Truman,

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Churchill, and Attlee had set up in Potsdam the machinery for the joint control of Germany and particularly of Berlin. That elaborate agreement has vanished into nothingness and the former allies have practically to start all over again. The progress made at the Moscow meetings seems to have been rather slow. But at the end, at least an understanding was reached to turn over the detailed negotiations about the most pressing issues to the Allied commanders in Berlin. For the first time in more than five months, the military governors sat down together around the conference table and tried to arrive at some compromise solution for the immediate problems of currency and transportation. The Russians left no doubt that they were willing to lift the blockade, *if* the Western democracies would withdraw their new currency from Berlin. The introduction of the Western *Deutsche Mark* in the city had been the reason given by the Russians for those "technical difficulties" which led to the strangulation of all communications (except by air) between Berlin and the three Western zones. The Russian point of view was summed up by the *New Times* (Moscow) in the following fashion:

> The separate currency reform introduced in the Western zones behind the back of the Soviet Union threatened to flood the Soviet zone with cancelled money. As long as the authorities of the Western Powers stick to their policy of issuing special currency in the Western sectors of Berlin, normal economic life in that city and throughout the Soviet zone is faced with a constant danger. The measures taken by the Soviet authorities were indispensable to prevent the disorganization of economic life in Eastern Germany.

The concession for which the Russians asked during the protracted negotiations may seem innocuous at first sight. Since Berlin is surrounded by the Russian zone, it would appear practicable that the city had the same currency as does Eastern Germany. However, not only the Western allies, but also most Berliners, were afraid of the implications which they view as an eventual victory of the Russians. In the *Neue Volks-Zeitung* (New York) of September 4 the deeper reasons for this alarm are made evident. Friedrich Stampfer, the leading Social Democrat editor of the Weimar republic, who just returned from his New York exile to Frankfurt, explains in an article there that the people of Western Berlin fear the complete loss of their political and economic independence. For even a joint control of the Soviet-manipulated currency by the four military governors will not prevent the Russians and their German affiliate, the Socialist Unity Party, from exercising increasing pressure on the business firms of the city. Finally the question will arise whether the Berlin economy will be integrated completely in the business life of Eastern Germany and thus lose its contacts with, and importance for, the West.

Since the negotiations in Berlin and Moscow about technical details were so slow and tedious, it cannot be assumed that an agreement between the four occupying powers on larger issues would be reached easily, if at all. What purpose would be served now by a conference of the four foreign ministers? They certainly could not agree on the terms of the long overdue peace settlement with Germany. Nor could they come to an understanding about the future constitution of the Reich or about the role of the Ruhr industry in the Western European recovery program. It seems better to wait a while until the present tension between East and West has been somewhat relaxed. The day may come when the Russians, due to unforeseeable circumstances, will be less disagreeable and when the Western democracies will be stronger and more unified in their aims. While this writer cannot approve otherwise of Sumner Welles' opinion on the Berlin issue, he heartily concurs with his view that the American people "must refuse to be stampeded into a military crusade against the Soviet Union, to return in discouragement to the isolation for which the Politbureau hopes, or to accept agreement merely for agreement's sake. Their patience, their courage, and their vision will be put to their severest test."

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PUBLIC RELATIONS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By ED RITTER
Teacher and Journalist

HOW TO CONQUER PUBLIC APATHY

THE English 10 class had just read "The Monkey's Paw."

"Maybe," I said, "there's some significance in the sort of things we wish for. But wait—let's find out what use *you* would make of the paw."

Each of the 45 sophomores jotted down his three wishes on an unsigned paper and turned it in.

What would they have? Bright red convertibles? Snappy sports outfits? A few. But 39, 87 per cent of them, made what many people would consider an un-teen-agely request—world peace.

Wrote one girl: "I wish there could be peace—then I wouldn't even care about the other two wishes."

They wish there could be peace. After that, there are wishes for college educations, success in chosen fields, happy marriages. To what ends is the American public turning the hopes and idealism of the boys and girls who look to the public schools for guidance and preparation every school day? With no creative statesmanship for peace in sight and with democratic ideals challenged around the world by communism, how seriously does the American public regard its responsibility to equip this generation of school children with a sound, democratic education?

"Not very" is the most optimistic answer that the facts warrant—not more than one-third to one-half as seriously as Russia considers her educational program, if proportion of national income invested in education is a fair criterion.

In the United States as a whole—and in more than three-fourth of the states—school boards had less purchasing power per pupil in 1947 than they did in 1940. While the average income per person gained 123 per cent and the retail price index jumped 79 per cent during that period, the per-pupil expenditure for United States schools rose 66 per cent. Doubled school construction costs, coupled with heavy enrollment increases, continue to lower the school boards' chances in the economic market. The American people paid three per cent of their total income payments for public education in 1939; last year they paid 1.6 per cent of their income payments.

The recent annual report of the United States Office of Education points out that only 73 per cent of the persons of secondary school age are in school and concedes that "for many who do attend, the offerings are calculated neither to challenge their interests nor to meet their needs."

But underneath the facts about our apparent apathy toward schools is a bigger fact. Of all the things in which we are interested, our most profound interest centers in the hopes we have for our children. "We commit the blotted manuscript of our lives more willingly to the flames," Santayana puts it, "when we find the immortal text half-inscribed in a fairer copy."

Through intelligent public relations, the plight of our schools can become associated—in parents' minds—with the writing of this "fairer copy." At the hour when that relationship is understood, our ineffective shoddy public school systems will find themselves atop

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an explosion. Obsolete courses, narrow academicians, run-down plants, and the sundry accumulations of the long community sleep will be blown in all directions. The solid elements will remain and around them the community will build schools that demand the best in equipment and personnel.

How shall we touch off this happy explosion? We have witnessed the failure of "the poor teacher" propaganda. While it has raised an occasional lump-in-the-throat, it has failed to relate the "better schools" cause to "the fairer copy."

The schools, in their nation-wide effort to raise money, haven't even held their own with inflation. The failure is probably due to the fact that school finance—like happiness and peace—can't be had through the direct search. Adequate school finance can be had only as the result of a strong public enthusiasm in giving the children better opportunities. Enthusiasm won't be excited by our present school effort, but by the necessity and the vision of a better one.

Even if it were possible to win adequate school finance without first creating a sustained interest, its advisability would be doubtful. The currently conflicting philosophies about teachers' salary schedules provide an excellent example why public interest must figure in the spending of school money as well as in the raising of it.

Because the public now cares so little, it allows even its meager appropriations for teachers' salaries to be spent inefficiently. The prevailing salary schedule trend is in the direction of rewarding longevity and accumulation of university credits rather than merit and hard work. In 1941, 15 per cent of the salary schedules analyzed by the N.E.A. Research Division provided for extra salary at the schoolboard's discretion; only 5 per cent of the 1946-47 schedules were of this type. Most of them make no differentiation other than experience and college credits accumulated. In states providing teacher tenure, the permanent teacher is encouraged to become a pensioner, receiving set annual increments that bear no relationship to the quality of his work. While the teacher enjoys this new exhilarating experience of having his administrator over the proverbial barrel, the fact remains that this unnecessary venture into socialistic method is almost certain to produce socialism's unhappiest result—loss of initiative.

All the more reason, then, for getting on with preparations for the explosion. The finances and the better schools will follow.

Every participant in every barber shop-chamber of commerce-women's club discussion has a part to play. The arguments about progress and survival have too long been terminated by that prosaic arbiter who sagely concludes that "the whole thing boils down to the need for education." Time has come to begin the discussion at that point. "Everybody," observes one layman, "wants education and nobody cares what kind."

Let's get the real news about our present educational efforts in the home town. The time and place to gather it is classtime in the classroom—not at "the program prepared for the parents," the school concert, a football game, a mother-daughter banquet, or the school play.

THE NEWSPAPERS

The reason for the public's being kept in darkness concerning the mysteries of the classroom is obvious. Through a remarkable inversion of news values, the apportioners of "school news" space have subordinated classroom activities to extracurricular activities. Belmont Farley, in a comprehensive study 20 years ago, revealed a sharp paradox that newspapers have never acted upon. His nationwide survey (based on opinion questionnaires from over 5,000 school patrons) proved that news about "pupil progress and achievement" was the most desired of all types of school news. Extracurricular activities news ranked *thirteenth*. At the same time Farley found extracurricular activities getting 47.1 per cent of all school news space in the newspapers. "Pupil progress and achievement" got 5.6 per cent of it!

A comprehensive new study to be published soon proves that extracurricular activities are crowding out the real school news in an even wilder disproportionment than was the case 20 years ago. Authored by Dr. Frank Bishop, District Superintendent of Corona, California, Schools, the study is based on the analysis of 45,030 column inches of school news as

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handled in 1,027 issues of 14 widely distributed daily newspapers. Here is how the news is being apportioned in 1948:

1. Extracurricular activities ..62.92 per cent
2. Board of Education and Administration 8.26
3. Parent-Teachers Association 7.89
4. Teachers and school officers 5.38
5. Pupil progress and achievement 3.62
6. Business management and finance 3.40

All others 8.43

Another part of Dr. Bishop's study (based on questionnaires from 54 school administrators throughout the United States) shows which school news is considered significant in interpreting schools to parents. For long range objectives, they ranked the types of news in this order:

1. Value of Education
2. Pupil progress and achievement
3. Health of pupils
4. Buildings and school building
5. Courses of study
6. Methods of instruction
7. Business management and finance
8. Board of education and administration
9. Teachers and school officers
10. Attendance
11. Parent-Teachers Association
12. Extracurricular activities
13. Discipline and behavior of students.

The fact that school administrators throughout the United States, according to the Bishop survey, rate local newspapers as the most important medium for interpreting or misinterpreting the schools to the public underlines the necessity for our newspapers to gain a sense of proportion on school news.

Our benevolent explosion can be hastened if we urge the local editor to send his reporters into the classrooms without rose-colored glasses or muckrake. If they find effective, imaginative procedures being carried out there, public interest will be quickened; if they find ineffective, dull procedures being carried out, the public will start asking some important questions.

It is a wonder that the layman has kept alive even the mild interest that he has in the classroom venture. William G. Avirett, educational editor of the *New York Herald-Tribune,* rightly summarizes the layman's position: ". . . . he is not very well informed and would like to know more. News of education must compete with news from many another field in which the reader has an established interest and is served by the most experienced writers. Staff members who devote their entire time to education are rare creatures akin to the duck-billed platypus in more ways than one."

In the same article, Avirett stresses the inadequacies of other information mediums in this matter. He evaluates the movies as the most culpable and points out that the radio's attempts to popularize education deal only with issues instead of being concerned with methods of training future voters.

School administrators and teachers should play a leading role in preparing the explosion. (The ones who don't may not survive it professionally.)

EXPERIMENTS

School people are in the best position to interpret the present schools and the vision of tomorrow's schools to the public. The Cleveland City Schools produced an authoritative film, in color, of Cleveland children's day-to-day experiences in two Cleveland public schools. Shown before large, appreciative audiences, the film made school problems real and challenging to local citizens. Such matters as the over-crowded classroom and the ineffectiveness of trying to teach certain skills to large classes were ably demonstrated.

In some communities, town meetings and forums have been held to air school problems. "Open house" was a device attempted by many schools during National Education Week. When pushed aggressively, these drives for parent classroom visitations punctured the apathy encouragingly.

A few Southern schools in rural areas have initiated and led community projects that have economically rehabilitated their entire communities.

Vital teachers are ever alert to chances by which they can directly relate their subject fields to community life. The home economics teacher may feature local food products at a school-community cooking school. The art

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teacher's students may arrange downtown window displays. The social science and English teacher can encourage students to interpret current issues in the light of historic principles and write spirited letters to the local editor. The journalism teacher can inspire his students to learn their craft through putting it to important community uses. One such high school class recently pitched into a community campaign for better schools by publishing a 12-page supplement to the city's newspaper. Students laid out "Better Schools" ads and sold them to local firms; they filled their news columns with the news of the local classroom venture; and in their editorial columns they related the problems of classroom efficiency to the four school bond and tax issues that were to be voted upon.

Any teacher who cannot, at some point, break through the prevailing insulation and relate his subject matter to the life of the community is probably teaching much dispensable material.

It will be most fortunate if the school people —by developing intelligent public relations policies and real community-school inter-relationships—can lead the way to a public interest in schools. Progressive citizens, however, should not wait for the teachers to interest them in the schools.

When the urgency for good schools is discovered in America's home towns, then still another necessity will become apparent: that good schools require a national effort. Hundreds of impoverished communities, even if they avail themselves of the maximum tax rates, will never be able to build adequate schools without federal aid. At present the poor states are giving the local districts a bigger per cent of their revenues than the wealthy states give their local districts—but a bigger per cent of a very little will never be very much. Last year, Southern states were spending about 42 per cent of their tax collections for schools, while New York spent only 35 per cent of hers.

From an interest in the home town's schools must evolve an interest in educational opportunities for all America's children and a willingness to help pay for a national campaign against ignorance. Grotesque inequalities, by which some districts scrape together $3.70 per pupil per year while others pay $220, indicate that we still imagine ignorance to be a respecter of district and state lines.

We cannot grasp too soon the concept that our nation's moral force for democracy in the world is inextricably bound up with our educational effort *as a whole people.* Wrote the Los Angeles teachers to their schoolboard in an official statement recently: "In the old days in Greece, every city had a wall—except the city of Sparta. When the stranger would remark upon this fact, the Spartan proudly answered, 'The walls of Sparta are the breasts of her sons!' The other cities were all taken, but Sparta did not fall—until her sons had ceased to be Spartan. . . ."

But federal funds—like local ones—are still awaiting the public's discovery that tomorrow's schools *can* help bring that which we most deeply desire—fulfilled hopes for our children.

Some years ago novelist Louis Bromfield was hired by Sam Goldwyn. He was given a sumptuous office, a gorgeous secretary, and was paid a fabulous salary. But he received no assignment.

For weeks he sat around drawing his pay but doing absolutely nothing. Finally he became fed up with his life of luxury. Breathing fire, he barged into Goldwyn's office.

"See here, Mr. Goldwyn," he said. "I want to break our contract. I realize you're paying me handsomely, but I'm not earning it, and I can't stand it."

"Now, now, you shouldn't feel that way," consoled Goldwyn, putting a fatherly arm around the writer's shoulder. "After all we hired you for your name, Mr. Bromberg."

—*Milwaukee Journal*

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Our Invisible Tariff

By HOLMAN HARVEY

ARBITRARY and fantastic rulings by United States customs officials are arousing resentment in many nations and depriving the United States of a huge amount of foreign trade. What is happening is typified in our dealings with our best customer, Canada.

On top of its shortage of United States dollars, the Dominion, once a $2 billion-a-year customer, is harassed by unpredictable restrictions against its products. In a great many instances, because of these restrictions alone, Canada is turning away to trade with other countries. This year Canada is shutting out an estimated half-billion dollars' worth of United States-made consumer goods; next year, she may shut out capital goods to the tune of another half billion.

These so-called "invisible tariff" regulations arose in high-protective-tariff eras when Congress, rather than legislate higher import duties, wrote into our tariff laws loophole language under which rates might be hoisted by simple customs rulings.

Under the invisible tariff, customs officials have ruled that evening trousers coming in from Canada were "articles made of braid," that truck tires were "artificial silk." And taxed them accordingly. A million cedar shingles, urgently needed for United States housing, were turned back at the border because each shingle was not stamped, "Made in Canada." Apples from Nova Scotia were refused entry unless each apple was wrapped in an identifying tissue.

In a recent swing through Canada, I talked with public officials and business leaders who share responsibility for Canada's economic future. They said the bewildering rules, regulations, and requirements now in force at the border are excluding millions of dollars worth of Dominion exports which under openly published tariff rates could enter with a fair chance of competing with United States products and of lowering prices to the consumer.

Confidential reports to the Canadian Manufacturers Association from 1,000 companies, to which I was given access, were replete with expressions of frustration and accumulating resentment. The fact that all other nations receive the same treatment makes the Canadians feel no better.

Of a cross-section of large and small Dominion manufacturers who have endeavored to export to the United States in recent years, 27 per cent have given up the struggle. Hundreds of others, next door to the world's largest and richest consumer market, will not even try. A recent case offers illustration of how confused and contradictory Customs rulings discourage Canadian businessmen who try to sell in the United States.

An enterprising Kentucky firm which sells household wares discovered that a small plant in Canada was turning out an electric table cooker of advanced design, at a remarkably low price. It placed a $25,000 initial order. The Canadian company, warned of the vagaries of the invisible tariff, specified that the Kentucky firm take responsibility for clearance of the cookers through United States Customs.

The shipment entered the United States under a tariff classification covering cooking stoves having an electrical element, and the Kentucky importers paid a duty of 17½ per cent of their value.

During the following four months the cookers sold like hot cakes. The Canadian manufacturer borrowed money to expand his plant, and he and the United States distributor looked ahead to a flourishing business.

Then United States Customs notified the Kentucky company that a mistake had been made—the cooker should have been entered as a household utensil, dutiable at 40 per cent. Also, because the importer had "undervalued" them at the border, a penalty had been assessed. Altogether, the United States government wanted $12,000 more.

This more than wiped out the profits of the

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United States distributor, stopped future trading, and left a bitter Canadian manufacturer in debt with an overexpanded plant.

Largely as a result of the invisible tariff Canada last year suffered a $918 million adverse balance of trade with us. Facing shrunken dollar credits, due chiefly to this disparate exchange of goods, Dominion leaders concluded last November that Canada no longer could stand the gaff. Now she intends to buy as much as possible from countries she can sell to. She also has curtailed Canadian tourist travel in the United States, which has run as high as $150 million a year.

Many rulings under the invisible tariff are marvelous to behold. Benjamin Arthur Levett, dean of United States customs lawyers, cites the classic case of the dead sportsman. A United States citizen was drowned while fishing in Canada, and his body was detained at the border to be assessed for duty. Finding no published tariff on a corpse, the literal-minded official passed it for free entry as "an American product not advanced in value or improved in condition." The coffin passed as "the usual container for such merchandise."

What tariff rates Canadian products will pay often remain a perennial mystery. You may get one ruling at one port-of-entry and a different ruling at another. You may get a ruling today to have it reversed six weeks or six months later. You can appeal the ruling to the United States Customs courts and get a decision years later, and this has happened.

A Canadian parachute manufacturer made a gift to United States Boy Scouts of waste cord ends, rather than just burn them up. Since some valuation was required, he entered them through United States Customs at the nominal value of $5.00. Customs valued them at $475 and imposed duty, and an undervaluation penalty, of $750. The incensed Canadian appealed. Six years later the ruling was reversed.

Another star exhibit concerns Canadian farm implements and their parts which, because American farmers needed them, have been listed for years for free entry. A large American firm imported Canadian agricultural tractors whose exhaust pipes were fitted with a special moisture-excluding cap. United States farmers liked the caps but were constantly losing them, so many thousands were brought in free of duty as replacement parts. One day a customs official discovered that the caps might also be used on passenger-car exhausts, assessed them for duty as "a manufactured article," and demanded of the American importer $14,000 in retroactive duties.

That was only a beginning. Belts, chains, nuts, bolts, and bars supplied as service parts for a specific farm machine have been held dutiable up to 35 per cent because the Canadian manufacturer was unable to prove that they could not be used for any other purpose. A Midwest farmer burned out a Canadian tractor motor and wanted a replacement. When it was held at the border for duty, he canceled his order and scrapped his machine. In thousands of like cases the invisible tariff is making a mockery of published United States tariff rates and nullifying negotiated rate reductions under the Hull reciprocal trade policy.

Canadian bulk products on our free list—newsprint, wood products, ores—accounted for more than half of everything Canada was able to sell us last year. This loads the adverse trade balance even more heavily against the Dominion's manufactured and processed products, of which she has a growing exportable surplus and which she must market if she is to enjoy any prosperity worth the name.

The United States Hawley-Smoot Tariff, under which Customs performs its miraculous feats of interpretation, was the result, in 1930, of nearly a century of Congressional logrolling, compromise, and general political shenanigans designed with devious intent to "protect" American industry from outside competition. This tariff, upon which the Hull agreements with many nations were merely superimposed, remains the statutory source of the incredible confusions of Customs administration.

Take the matter of "resemblances." Under the law, any article entering the United States must pay some duty, unless named on the limited Free List. If not so exempted, nor specifically listed for duty, it must take the duty of the listed article which it most nearly resembles. If it resembles two listed articles, it must take the higher duty. Customs moves with alacrity to discover resemblances.

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For example, Canadian synthetic-rubber truck tires might be supposed to resemble natural rubber truck tires which took a duty of ten per cent. But when they reached the border for import into the United States—then acutely short of tires—they became articles made wholly or in part of artificial silk because they used rayon cording; and they took a higher rate. Synthetic passenger-car tires turned out not to resemble tires, but to be articles made in whole or in part of graphite, a small percentage of carbon black being used in their manufacture. A recent ruling removed this particular abuse, but not before it had cost Canadian tire makers many thousands of dollars.

Under the principle of "similitude," frogs became chickens, because both have edible white meat; venison became beef, because both have edible red meat; cow hair became wool, because a cow was held to resemble certain horned animals listed in the wool tariff.

Whimsicalities of United States tariff law and administration are legion. Canadian cribbage boards supplied with tiny reed pegs as counters were ruled to be articles made of reed, assessed at high duty; but when the manufacturer changed to plastic pegs everything was all right. Cotton pincushions in the form of pears, apples, and peaches were classified as "artificial fruits"; then the importers changed them to resemble tomatoes, and it took the United States Supreme Court to decide that tomatoes were vegetables.

The other day I saw a woman's traveling bag made of a cotton fabric on which the published duty was 35 per cent, but it had been held at Customs for a 75 per cent duty because a gathered elastic band closed one of its pockets. Fine Canadian shirts have been assessed as "embroidery" if initials were added; and wool sports jackets suffered the same fate because of a few threads of decorative design.

Last year a Geneva agreement slashed the duty on imported cotton rugs from 20 per cent to ten. However, if the rug carries the traditional strip of fringe, it becomes, under the invisible tariff, an article of fringe dutiable at 45 per cent.

Delayed rulings at the border cause heavy losses to shippers of seasonal and perishable products. Recently a large consignment of Canadian women's dresses was sold off in a New York bargain basement for what it would bring, because it had been held up four months for valuation and the season had passed.

Marks of origin are another thorn in the side. A Niagara Falls company ordered from Canada 70,000 wood handles for its carborundum files, to be delivered in bags marked "Made in Canada." Customs insisted that each handle be indelibly stamped. The United States concern did not want the complete file to be identified as a Canadian product, and cancelled further orders. Carloads of Canadian lath have been held up until each lath was stamped, an added cost.

An acute point of friction with the Dominion is the United States refusal at times to recognize volume prices in assessing duties. If a Canadian factory sells, say, 90 per cent of its output to Canadian wholesalers, but sells the remaining ten per cent at a higher price to a larger number of Canadian retailers, we too often assess duties on the basis of the retailers' price, however large the export shipment. This practice has cost Canada untold millions. It has been denounced by a Geneva agreement signed by 22 nations and the United States, but Congress has not acted to remove it.

The United States professes to believe in freer trade among all nations. The State Department has worked valiantly and long to level off trade barriers everywhere. The Commerce Department has sent experts to Europe, Asia, and Latin America to urge foreign firms to export to America's $225 billion-a-year domestic market, so that by selling to us they can earn the dollars with which to buy our exports.

Athwart this enlightened policy stands the invisible tariff. Partly because of its hampering restrictions, other countries were able last year to sell us only $5 billion of their goods while we flooded them with $14 billion worth of ours. Only by extending them huge loans or gifts can they continue for long, at that rate of loss, to be our customers.

The threatening defection of Canada, the best customer this nation ever had, is a significant storm signal.

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COUNTRY COMMENT

Commercial earthworms first came to my attention less than two years ago. A friend of mine, a college professor, told me that he was raising some in his basement. A most fastidious man, he sat in his immaculate living room and discussed the feeding and breeding of earthworms that was going on downstairs.

Naturally such a basic, down-to-earth subject interested me immediately. I already knew a little of the value of earthworms in turning over the soil of the earth. I had read that each year they process an average of 18 tons of soil for every acre, and that their annual castings, if spread evenly over the whole globe, would made a layer a quarter-inch thick.

I had even written an early poem on the earthworm, in which I tried to make truth sound as impressive as possible.

> He has turned more earth than I have with my fork.
> He has lifted more earth than all men have or will.

That seemed a safe assertion when one considered how many more earthworms than human beings there are on the earth or in it, and how many ages longer they have been at work. The fork I mentioned was, of course, a spading fork. And my use of the singular was only a way of saying that one earthworm was equal to another.

But here I was wrong. The earthworms my friend was raising were not ordinary local worms. They were the cultivated variety. Paradoxically, though they had been shipped from heaven knows what distance, they themselves were non-migratory. Once established in a garden, a colony of them would not venture more than two feet away. Indeed, I think they are guaranteed not to overstep that limit. In addition, these worms unlike their local cousins leave inconspicuous castings on a lawn.

My first reaction was unqualified approval, even though I knew that I myself could not afford their services. A man who drives a 1931 Chevrolet, a man who cannot afford even a garden hose, is in no position to think of buying worms.

But during the past year my attitude has changed. I have come to prefer the local migratory earthworms to the imported non-migratory ones. I prefer them on principle. Why shouldn't an earthworm travel as widely as opportunity permits? Why may not its migratory impulses be considered the first rudimentary gropings toward free travel, free trade, and free exchange of opinion?

As for conspicuous castings, why shouldn't the castings be conspicuous? Why hide the importance of one's work? If the lawn is disfigured by them, so much the worse for that smug symbol of suburban artificiality.

Finally, I prefer the local worms just because they are local. They go with the local trees and the local flowers of this place.

Please do not misunderstand me. I do not claim the local worms are superior to the imported ones. I do not even claim that they are equal to them. I only say that there is something to be said in their favor.

ROBERT FRANCIS

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October Summer

I

Day after day no rain, but dew
Each morning dripping from the roof
Like nectar from a dead-ripe fruit.
Each afternoon the blur of haze
Like bloom over blue plum, blue grape.
Pumpkins and days lie golden-heaped.
What passerby would try to count them?

II

Our full wages of summer sun
Were paid a month ago. This warmth
Is bonus from the benevolent
And prosperous year. Happy the man
Who spends his bonus as it comes.
What bank could keep it safe? What bond
Could ever give the value back?

—ROBERT FRANCIS

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JASPER R. LEWIS

Books in brief

Great men should never write autobiographies. Charm and mystery disappear before the confession of the weaknesses of mortality. This is, of course, only true of the really great —those who are big enough to admit errors or changes of opinion. *Gandhi's Autobiography* (Public Affairs Press, $5.00), is the case in point. Gandhi's efforts for his people, his sacrifices and personal suffering for his "cause," are within our own time. To the average reader he appeared something between a religious zealot and a leader of the masses. Here in his own words is the record of his very humanness.

And here is the price of self-revelation. As a boy he endured the usual routine of life for the Indian: a pre-arranged marriage, consummated at the age of 13. Gandhi pulls no punches, either at himself or at others. The tale of his marital life, strung through the book, is at times painfully descriptive.

Born in Porbandar on October 2, 1869, in a family that boasted several prime ministers of Indian States, Gandhi was educated at primary and high schools, although he does not seem to have overworked as a student. The pages of his youth include incidents, awakenings, and surprises not uncommon to youth generally. Gandhi's temptations and minor sins are all too frequently the lot of the young.

At 18 he was sent to England to prepare for the law. There he also learned something about Englishmen and religions other than his own. He learned to resist suggestions that he eat meat and drink wine, both prohibited by his early teachings. About four years later he passed his bar examinations and returned to India.

From then on, absorbed by the plight of his people, he grew more and more ascetic, devoting all his efforts to movements to further his cause. In Indian cities, in South Africa, wherever he went, he was greeted as a leader. Punishment or jail had to be endured. The pages of his reminiscences of these trials, written in the same humble strain, bear witness to singleness of purpose and an entire lack of self-interest. These are inspiring, a necessary offset to some of the chapters in which he relates his views on diet or other personal matters, more naïve than important. In his travels from place to place he endured some of the indignities meted out to the natives, but fought steadily against them.

Strangely enough, despite this, in the Boer War, Gandhi and many other Indians volunteered to help the British, although they soon realized that the same rules of caste held in war as in peace. Gandhi was more successful in persuading the white rulers to take better care of his people when the black plague broke out in Johannesburg. Removal of the native population and the burning of their "ghetto" showed results.

One of the more descriptive chapters covers the story of the acceptance of an "untouchable" family at a settlement where Gandhi was promulgating his beliefs. It was a sign of the times, and in spite of obstacles, eventually worked out.

Most of the book is devoted to the cause for which Gandhi lived—the betterment of his people. Free from guile and with little interest in his own or his family's welfare, he went wherever need arose. As he grew in importance the need was everywhere. What he accomplished seemed to have been done without politics or compromise. In that, the subtitle of the book, "The Story of My Experiments with Truth," is well borne out, because Gandhi's usual approach to problems was to seek the truth and to convince others.

It is in the revelations of a simple soul that interest will be greatest. The earlier portion dealing with the foibles of youth comes from a man who has nothing to conceal. There is also the disadvantage of language. This being

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a translation from the original Gujarati, it is hardly smooth reading, although this is partly compensated for by the simplicity of the style. However, as the frank outpourings of one who lived to be a great leader and liberator, the book offers plenty of the bread and salt of life among a people who have suffered for centuries both from internal and external causes.

BRIEFER COMMENT

POLITICS

Alexander Meiklejohn, famous American educator, discusses the implications of the First Amendment to the Constitution in *Free Speech and its Relation to Self-Government* (Harpers, $2.00). In particular, the author attacks Holmes' doctrine of "clear and present danger" as the test of the right to free speech, and his argument is a cogent one. The essays are pointed toward our new "loyalty tests" and F.B.I. investigations and were originally presented as lectures at the University of Chicago.

A book which might be said to deal with freedom of thought in reverse is *Persuade or Perish,* by Wallace Carroll (Houghton Mifflin, $4.00). A thoughtful defense of psychological warfare, the book does not make propaganda more palatable to the democrat, necessary though "thought control" may be.

Using the historical method of political science, Professor James Hart analyzes *The American Presidency in Action, 1789* (Macmillan, $4.00). The constitutional position of the American President is clarified in this scholarly presentation of George Washington's administration. Abundant use of source material, both familiar and rare, distinguishes the work. Professor Hart plans to make a series of studies of the early constitutional position of the President, and thoughtful Americans will follow them with interest.

An interesting view of Russia through many eyes, *As We Saw Russia* (Dutton, $3.75), was written by 25 members of the Overseas Press Club of America. Divided into four parts, the composite study is well-written and informative, though there is nothing very new about its revelations. This is the second volume by members of the Overseas Press Club. A sound idea and a sound book for those who want a general summary of conditions in the U.S.S.R.

Joseph Goebbels, by Curt Riess (Doubleday, $3.95), is a briskly-written biography of "the Devil's Advocate," chief propagandist for Nazi Germany. Author Riess writes nonfiction with fictional intensity, and the research he did for this book lends it an authentic flavor.

Organized agriculture is the subject of *The Farm Bureau through Three Decades,* by Orville Merton Kile (Waverly Press, $3.50). Written for farm bureau members by a former member, this is a glowing account of the farm lobby in action—"the thrilling story of the long crusade for parity." A frankly biased, simply written history of a great pressure group.

INDUSTRY

"Although this book is primarily intended to tell the story of Westinghouse, it is, in a larger sense, the battle narrative of all American industry." Thus opens *Battlefronts of Industry,* by David O. Woodbury (Wiley, $3.50). A detailed description is given of the role of Westinghouse in World War II. Practical problems and their solutions as well as scientific progress are recorded here. Interesting side bits of information are thrown in—the G.I.'s used the Freon gas in bug bombs to refrigerate their beer!

Also dealing with the industrial front is *America's Fifty Foremost Business Leaders* edited by B. C. Forbes (B.C. Forbes, $5.00). Here is the story of the "climb to the top" with some facts and figures for background. Not for general reading.

FICTION

Forum readers, who have always wanted more of Robert Francis than can be had in "Country Comment," the occasional essay, or page of poetry we publish, will be delighted with *We Fly Away* (The Swallow Press and William Morrow and Co., Inc., $2.50).

This is Mr. Francis' first novel; his three previous books (*Stand With Me Here,* 1936; *Valhalla and Other Poems,* 1938; *The Sound I Listened For,* 1944) are volumes of poetry.

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We Fly Away is a story of the individual's search for independence (the individual is a poet named "Robert"), and his discovery that the way he seeks lies within himself. All the characters seek and find the same goal, from Henry who flees the rigors of a New England winter and a New England college to Mrs. Bemis, for whom freedom meant: "the freedom to go on living in her own home, to do as she had always done (except when she had a mind to do differently, as in mopping the kitchen floor), the freedom, finally, to die in her own house and so to fly away, soul from body—the greatest freedom of all."

Yet the search is not a chase. While one may suspect that the novel may be to some extent autobiographical, it is not a frenzied, first-person inquiry. Realization comes to Robert, as it comes to anyone, suddenly, surely, but within the quiet context of his life. The reviewer is reminded of Robinson's Breton Iseult: "Wisdom is not one word and then another until words, like dry leaves, lie under a tree. Wisdom is the dawn that comes up slowly out of an unknown ocean." The form of this novel is particularly adapted to this process as it is but 156 pages and has no formal chapter divisions.

It is in the description of the "context" of Robert's life—a New England college town set in the hills—that we find the chaste beauty we have long admired: "If the Saturday sky was a morning-glory, then the Sunday sky was another blossom on the same vine. When Robert first looked, the blossom had just opened."

Mr. Francis gives us the essence of New England as well as the warmth and wit of his own personality.

On the whole, modern novels, and particularly war novels, are depressing. *The Hopeful Heart* (Ziff-Davis, $3.50), is therefore unusual in its very title, and the optimistic idealism of its leading character is refreshing. Not that the theme is gay; far from it; *The Hopeful Heart* is Philip Gibbs' story of a returned British war prisoner and his readjustment to post-war England. This is a serious and well-written book with a realism that is not morbid.

The reader suspects, however, that *Thy Men Shall Fall* (Ziff-Davis, $3.00), with its depressing picture of the "little guy" in wartime, is far more true to life. Few of us are the hopeful idealists of the Gibbs novel; most of us share the feelings of the co-authors of *Thy Men.* Sidney Moss wrote most of the book overseas while serving with the Second Armored Division, and his older brother, Samuel, contributed much of the final polishing. There is no romance and little idealism in this grim novel, with its bitter hatred of war and those who make war. As a statement of what every intelligent, sensitive veteran feels, this is masterly—its beautiful prose helps to carry its angry message. Strong medicine but worth it.

History is based in part at least on the folklore of a people, and *Creole Folk Tales* (Louisiana State University Press, $3.00), makes its contribution to the history of our French-Americans. Dr. Hewitt Leonard Ballowe has practiced medicine for 35 years in the South Louisiana marsh country and his collection of its folklore is authentic. Add to this a delightful style and you have a readable little book for anyone who likes "tales."

Joseph Stanley Pennell's second novel, *The History of Nora Beckham* (Scribner's, $3.00), is the story of Rome Hanks' granddaughter and her life in a Kansas town. Once again Lee Harrington is the narrator, and Pennell focusses first on Nora and then on her son, Lee, as the novel unfolds. Pennell's talent and sensitivity are as apparent here as in Rome Hanks, but *Nora Beckham* is a slower and more ponderous work.

In *On the Marble Cliffs* (New Directions, $2.50), German Ernst Juenger, living in the Germany of 1939, wrote an allegory of the process through which totalitarianism is forced on a free people. It is almost unbelievable that Nazi Germany permitted the publication of this pointed tale. Translation by Stuart Hood in no way affects the unusual style and poetic nature of this story of a dream world.

For lighter reading, *The Burnished Blade,* by Lawrence Schoonover (Macmillan, $3.00), will provide an afternoon's entertainment. A period novel, this follows the now familiar pattern of a European "hero" who finds fame and fortune in the Orient. This is neither the first nor the last book to be centered in fifteenth century France (and Trebizond in Asia Minor), but it is a good story.

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The war goes on and Lanny Budd with it, in the ninth volume of Upton Sinclair's historical pageant of World War II. *One Clear Call* (Viking, $3.50), sends the hero to Italy before the Sicilian invasion and eventually to an army commission. In spite of such inspired writing as: "She thought, Oh, God!" the book will undoubtedly have wide appeal.

MISCELLANEOUS

Dixie Raider (Dutton, $4.00), by Murray Morgan, tells the exciting saga of the *C.S.S. Shenandoah,* a raider for the Confederacy. For six months after the War Between the States ended, the Shenandoah flew the Stars and Bars, unconscious of the armistice. Within eight months, "she made 38 captures, an average of a fraction over four per month. . . . She visited every ocean except the Antarctic. . . . . She never lost a chase and was second only to the celebrated Alabama." A gallant ship deserves a fine story and *Dixie Raider* is just that, so exciting that you almost forget its fine documentation. A non-fiction classic.

The Valley of Shadows, by Francis Grierson, (Houghton Mifflin, $3.50) is a new edition of this biographical volume, published 40 years ago. It is the author's recollections of boyhood in Illinois and Missouri just before the Civil War and during the war itself. It is entertaining, well-written, and a piece of American history.

Just how much is based on fact and how much is imaginary, is unimportant. *Blackstone and White Rock* by Milton Farber (Dutton, $2.75), is the purported reminiscences of a lawyer. It is a mixture of court and bar room, of comment on human foibles and sometimes uninhibited frankness. Taken for laughing purposes only, it should be safe.

Charles A. Lindbergh, in a little book of self-revelation, relates some of his thoughts on life and the world today in *Of Flight and Life* (Scribner's, $1.50). It is a combination of his experiences and his belief that our scientific materialism is writing finis to our civilization. His plea is for a strong moral and religious awakening.

On Being an Author, by Vera Brittain (Macmillan, $3.50), is a helpful book by the English author. In addition to suggestions and warnings, Miss Brittain includes a list of literary awards in the United States and the British Empire.

Says Prince Karan Singh, 16 years old and the only son of Sir Hari Singh, Marharajah of Kashmir:

"I think you have a very good form of government. Everybody seems to have a chance. You see a man and he is not doing much and then you see him again and he is President of the United States."

—Herald Tribune

When a western line first put on fast expresses, there was a great deal of trouble with ranch owners whose stock strayed onto the tracks and were killed. And, without fail, when a steer lost its life, the owner put in a claim for damages on the basis of a valuable pure-blooded animal.

In desperation the president of the railroad called a famous attorney for consultation. The lawyer examined all of the records and reported as follows:

"I have come to the conclusion that nothing improves the strain of Oklahoma cattle so much as crossing them with a locomotive."

—Capper's Weekly

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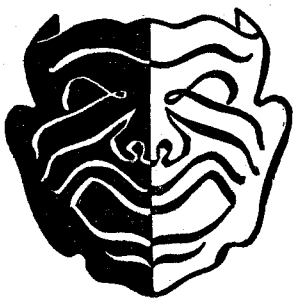

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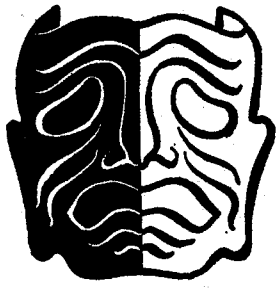

by John Gassner

As a new season begins, we may speculate about the direction the American theatre may take. Actually this is like trying to plot a curve by the points that it will not touch, for most evidence substantiates the view that the recent course of the stage has been one of renunciations rather than discoveries. Our theatre went through phases from 1918 to 1945 which provided stimuli, viewpoints, and aims that have been diminished or exhausted one by one.

Our first seed-time and harvest came at a time when we were catching up with Europe. We created an "art theatre" movement after it had already flowered across the Atlantic. We had to create it for ourselves with various ostensible borrowings because our theatre had been largely in the hands of monopolies and our audiences had not yet learned to require more than pallid entertainment. "Art theatre" —first an off-Broadway, little theatre or amateur movement—was our first acquisition. It gave us vital organizations like the Actors' Theatre and The Theatre Guild, and it lavished upon Broadway the first ripe fruits of O'Neill's talent, and the work of Sidney Howard, Anderson, Rice, Sherwood, and others. In theatrical art, we acquired tastefully selective and accentuated staging, unity of design, acting that meshed, rather than acting that consisted of stellar performances surrounded by planetary supporting roles. For a time the Theatre Guild and other managements even refused to single out actors for special billing on programs and marquees. Style came into its own, thanks to the efforts of able directors like Arthur Hopkins, the Theatre Guild's Philip Moeller and of scene designers like the Provincetown's Robert Edmund Jones and the Guild's Lee Simonson.

In addition, the theatre played host to a variety of carefully sustained production modes—realism, naturalism, symbolism, and expressionism. In those days it was possible to move from one complete theatrical world to another. If the playgoer went to see the Theatre Guild production of Howard's *They Knew What They Wanted,* with its California vineyard background, he witnessed the fine art of realism blossoming with an ordered vitality—with a matching of racial and occupational temperaments and speech. Italian vine-growers, the city waitress played by the peerless Pauline Lord, and the I.W.W. hobo played by Glenn Anders evoked a recognizable life on the stage. To attend the Actors Company's *The Wild Duck,* to watch Emily Stevens in *Hedda Gabler,* to see St. John Ervine's *John Ferguson* flawlessly performed by the Theatre Guild—if we may single out only a few examples—was equivalent to discovering truth in the shoddy world of make-believe.

If we felt the need to confront the sterner aspects of reality in social and psychological matters, we had only to go across the street. On hand was the naturalistic cross-section of Elmer Rice's *Street Scene,* with its polyglot, tumultuous slum tenement, or the poetic naturalism of O'Neill's *Desire Under the Elms,* relentlessly devoted to the passions and to their conflict with moral rigor and earth-bound possessiveness. If we wanted poetry, however, we could have it evoked for us as something ineffable and untamed in the atmospheric and suggestive John Barrymore *Hamlet*—which was something radically dif-

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ferent from the latter-day workmanlike Margaret Webster productions, in which there is no wanton excess but in which there is also a compromise poetry—clear and intelligent but circumspect and tailored to the prosaic orientation of the age. The "symbolist" dispensation laid down by Appia, Craig, and Reinhardt addressed itself to the spirit; and spirit it was that we saw served in the Barrymore *Hamlet* or the Hopkins-Jones production of *Macbeth,* in which the thane's castle was materialized out of air by the magic of Jones' lighting and the usurper's destiny was translated into architectural structures that were successively expressive masks, arches, and shields indicative of the mood of the play. They leered with weird foreboding as eerie as the witches' words; they toppled toward the end like Macbeth's fortunes. The production, in short, was a dramatic poem like Shakespeare's tragedy itself. Finally, if we were in the mood for modern expressiveness, for the grotesque or the tensions of the times, we could observe modern efficiency transmuted into the nightmare farce of George S. Kaufman's *Beggar on Horseback* as its dreamer wandered through mazes of office space in the effort to requisition a pencil. We could watch modern regimentation evoked in the bookkeeper's world of Elmer Rice's *The Adding Machine,* an arid and de-individualized place in which the walls of Mr. and Mrs. Zero's bedroom were decorated with double-entry numerals. The Guild's production of the robot-drama *R.U.R.* lay close at hand with a metallic picture of mechanical men and laboratory symmetry to congeal us with the visionary triumph of technocracy. The Provincetown Playhouse production of *All God's Chillun Got Wings* was there to transform the issue of miscegenation into psychological anguish, visually symbolized by a divided street scene, leaning walls, angular settings, and an enigmatic African mask.

The art theatre, however, vanished somewhere in the debris of the age of prosperity after the stockmarket crashed on a distressingly memorable day in 1929. Remnants of that theatre continued to be covered with rubble as efforts were directed at economic reform in a tenacious economic depression, as the class struggle brought forth a generation that harnessed art to utilitarian propaganda and set up Marxist standards for the stage, as the threat of fascism and the rumble of a war in the making rocked foundations. Gone was the interest in psychological complexities as Marx displaced Freud in the thoughts of the depression generation. Even the expressionist protest against the machine age was set down as an esthete's folly and men reflected that the trouble was not that we were living in a machine age but that the machine had ground to a stop.

Brightness had also characterized the 1920's, and so-called "sophistication" had filled the stage with the playful cynicism of Noel Coward, Ferenc Molnar, Robert Sherwood, Philip Barry, and S. N. Behrman. But the brightness tarnished fast enough in the sultry climate of the depression, and lighthearted attitudes that had once seemed the acme of civilization began to be set down as a snare and a delusion when they were not indicted as a conspiracy to conceal the evil of the social system. Brightness was a luxury of mind or spirit that could no longer be afforded. A play like Behrman's *The Second Man* could no longer be received with mirth; it looked like an idle jest when it was not regarded as evidence of the criminal failure of the intelligentsia to take up the social burdens of the age. Robert Sherwood's *The Road to Rome,* in which Hannibal was turned back from the gates of Rome by a patrician lady who released the conqueror's libido from repression, seemed a sorry way of fronting the danger of the Second World War.

Today, after a second holocaust, the theatre of the 1920's may be dipped into by able showmen, and isolated instances of it have cropped up in the three theatrical seasons since 1945. Gian-Carlo Menotti's *The Medium* (I refer to both the music-drama and the production), and the John La Touche and Jerome Moross *Ballet-Ballads* reinvoked the art theatre movement with their stylization, mélange of the arts, and appeal to the imagination. A solitary Tennessee Williams memory play, *The Glass Menagerie,* recaptured the delicacy and suggestiveness of symbolism in a new context. Another solitary drama by the same writer, *A Streetcar Named Desire,* revived memories of O'Neill's poetic naturalism and clinical con-

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cern with psychology. Fantasy returned in the single successful instance of *Harvey,* and high comedy wagged its finger in the two conspicuous successes of *State of the Union* and *Born Yesterday,* although not actually with the polished insouciance that passed for sophistication in the decade of the twenties.

The authors of the twenties have in the meantime grown older and less nimble. They are good only for an occasional recovery of their *élan.* When they return to our stage in their characteristic vein, they may still be impressive (we may cite O'Neill's *The Iceman Cometh* as an example), but we cannot avoid noting that they are alienated from our time. When, like O'Neill, they bring messages of doom, they seem to be beating an old drum, and *The Iceman Cometh* was, in fact, completed in 1939. More than that, they fail to impress the younger generation which resents being denied its birthright of hope and its confidence that it can avert defeat. When the old generation playwrights try to cut a caper, they tend to do so in borrowed motley. It is significant, for instance, that the brilliant S. N. Behrman has succeeded in many years only when making adaptations. More often, actually, the capers fail to come off, and it is surely a symptom that the once irrepressible George S. Kaufman has not prevailed on Broadway since *The Man Who Came to Dinner.* The American theatre of the middle forties has had to give up the interior explorations and the puckish merriment of its prime. And, what is more serious, the stage has been unable to find an adequate substitute in recent years.

It has had to renounce something else, too—namely, the social militancy of the 1930's when a collectivist, Marxist leaven gave rise to the Group Theatre, the Theatre Union, the American Repertory Company, and other groups on the left. It requires no great effort to recall the theatre that came to the fore as the precocious offspring of the depression. In production art, it created the agitational dramatic patterns of *Waiting for Lefty, Bury the Dead,* and *The Cradle Will Rock,* which compounded naturalism and expressionism into a new form—naturalistic in its stress on environment and addiction to bleak details, but expressionistic in its turbulence and its attempt to strike the many key points of an issue. Acting in this style was equally mixed, and it was dominated by the dynamism of protest. In production art, simultaneously, the thirties brought us to the zenith of ensemble and character acting as epitomized by Group Theatre productions; in playwriting we had Clifford Odets, Irwin Shaw, Lilian Hellman, Sidney Kingsley and others, whose vigor lessened regrets for the lavendar glories of the twenties. A special vibration pulsed in such plays as *Awake and Sing, Golden Boy, Men in White, Dead End, The Children's Hour,* and *The Little Foxes.* They were supplemented by numerous less successful but still impressive pieces like John Wexley's Scottsboro case play *They Shall Not Die,* the Theatre Union's *Stevedore* and *Sailors of Cattaro,* Kingsley's *The World We Make,* Paul Green's *The House of Connelly* and *Johnny Johnson,* Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Man,* and many forceful one-acters. Affected by the time-spirit, even the old-timers became reanimated and enlarged the new harvest. Behrman turned out his comic obituary on the old order in *End of Summer* (a brilliant "socialism for millionaires" satire), and his "*finis* to political aloofness" in the anti-Nazi drama *Rain from Heaven.* Philip Barry abandoned genteel comedy for his insufficiently appreciated *Here Come the Clowns.* Maxwell Anderson returned to the Sacco-Vanzetti case in *Winterset* and scourged Congress in his Pulitzer Prize satire *Both Your Houses.* Robert Sherwood turned out *The Petrified Forest, Idiot's Delight,* and *Abe Lincoln in Illinois.* But I must not prolong this inventory. Suffice it to say that the American theatre managed to wring another fruitful decade out of the quaking earth and the lean economic harvest.

But again we must remind ourselves that renunciation and loss were in store for our stage. The plain fact is that much of the strength of the thirties came from sources that have been sealed or depleted to a considerable degree. The militancy of the leftist drama came from a belief in Marxism, a trust in Soviet Russia, and an optimism concerning a simple radical remedy for social ills (overthrow the "system" or change it into a more or less socialistic order!), which began to recede toward the end of the decade. The recession began with the Moscow purges in 1937,

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became tidal during the Nazi-Soviet pact, was stemmed during the phenomenal feats of Russian resistance, and returned after communism's rift with the West. Playwrights found their feet in the quicksands of political uncertainty—a position that is hardly conducive to the passionate kind of writing they had once given us. Only the subject of racial discrimination was productive of impassioned partisanship. The problem had received such prominent exhibition during the war, and had become so directly a moral issue that it supplied the firm footing that had disappeared in other areas of social awareness, and the result was work of the calibre of *Deep Are the Roots* and *Home of the Brave.* The only other post-war social play of marked quality, Arthur Miller's *All My Sons,* was significantly a preachment on social responsibility, set against a background of war-profiteering, which could be accepted equally from the right and left.

Treatments of the racial problem will henceforth have to be remarkably original to make any sort of impression, since the law of diminishing dramatic returns operates in the field, and this was proved sufficiently by the quick failure of several other plays like *Strange Fruit* and *Young American.* Moralization on social responsibility is likely to become tedious or tepid; and even if this should not prove to be the case, the *All My Sons* type of drama is, we must observe, dramatically conservative. Except for the American idiom, Miller's play was indistinguishable from Galsworthy's sober, realistic plays for which there have been no resuscitation on Broadway in the past dozen years, while Shaw has prevailed time and again. Galsworthian reformatory drama is too devoid of passion and imagination to represent any advance in the theatre, and it is unlikely to supply any effective ferment. As for militant leftist drama, its future seems to be meagre in the present situation. It might crop up again in another depression period, although it is not possible to be sure that it would be supplanted by a militant rightist drama. (Under pressure, if not out of conviction, there might come a time when the theatre would follow the film industry's recent example of turning out *"Iron Curtain"* plays. One of them is indeed expected from France this season—*Les Mains Sales,* by Jean-Paul Sartre.) And it may be suspected, in any case, that the narrow leftist theatre has been pretty well bankrupted by its surplus of clichés, stereotyped heroes and villains, and formulae for action.

What new substances will fill the void caused by the evaporation of two decades of the modern American theatre would be difficult to surmise. Perhaps the theatre of the next few years will be an admixture of remnants from the twenties and thirties, with occasional surprises in the form of highly individual products by men of unique talent. That happens to be the case already in the distinctive contributions of our latest dramatic luminary, Tennessee Williams.

One of our pet truck drivers reports that a bartender told him his business was getting very bad. "It's the high cost of low living," he said.

—Kiplinger Magazine

In a school examination paper appeared the question, "Give an account of the creation of man."

One little girl answered: "First God created Adam. He looked at him and said, 'I think if I tried again I could do better.' Then he created Eve."

—Essex Courier

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YES!

By JOSEPH C. WILLIAMS

IN March of this year, some 2,000 books were seized in Philadelphia bookstores on "obscenity" charges. The books *Gentlemen's Agreement* and *Focus* were recently refused as gifts to a New York high school library. In both Newark and New York City, school library subscriptions to *The Nation* were cancelled because of its publication of violent and intolerant anti-Catholic articles. Examples of censorship in the United States could be endlessly multiplied; in some cases, of course, the censorship has been unwise and harmful, in other cases, wise and beneficial to the community.

Those who oppose censorship *per se* believe that it has no justification in a democracy regardless of its possible beneficent effect. They contend that since democracy pre-supposes man a reasoning being, he must be able to judge for himself what is harmful and what not. By the same token, then, censorship is a denial of the democratic principle.

This, we contend, is a misunderstanding of the democratic philosophy. Man, we believe, is capable of reasoning; he is, in other words, educable. This is not to say, however, that he *wants* to be educated, or that he tries to *use* his critical reasoning powers. A glance at the United States on the eve of a national election should make these points clear. Man is a reasoning animal; he is also an emotional one, and when strong appeal is made to his emotions through the written and spoken word, he *unthinkingly* responds. In all truth, there can be little argument with this premise. Falsehoods, prejudices, hatreds,—unscrupulous or ignorant writers and speakers can appeal to all that is animal in man for their own ends. The question, then, is whether a democratic society has any justification for protecting itself against those who would distort its values, corrupt its moral standards, or destroy its basic philosophy. Those who say "no" point to the liberal Anglo-Saxon tradition of free speech. They quote Milton's *Areopagitica*: ". . . . as good almost kill a man as kill a good book," without scrupuling to quote the preliminary phrase *"Unless wariness be used."* They quote the First Amendment to the Constitution without mentioning its interpretation by the courts. Let us then re-examine the evidence for and against a limited censorship, to determine its standing for ourselves.

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

The clear wording of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States seems to grant an unconditional and uncensorable right of free expression. This is not, however, the traditional interpretation of the First Amendment, nor should it be. On the contrary, under any form of government, in any society, freedom is necessarily accompanied by social restraint. In a dictatorial government, the individual is limited in his personal liberty by the arbitrary desires of the dictator; in a democracy, the individual is restrained by law. Liberty, as we have come to understand it, is "liberty under law," "freedom of action so far as this may be without trespassing on the rights of others." "Freedom without limitation," writes William Ernest Hocking, "is a chimera. Concrete freedom is proportional not to the absence of rule but to the amount of rule it can absorb and turn into a ladder to achievement."

Accepting these premises, we accept also the doctrine that there has never been and can never be such a thing as unconditional freedom of expression in organized society. The

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's Censorship A Democracy?

NO!

By ARTHUR BROWN

ONE of the basic tenets of democratic government is the liberty of the individual, and the most important liberty any individual possesses is freedom of thought, speech, and expression. It was in recognition of this basic truth that the framers of the Constitution added the First Amendment, guaranteeing freedom of speech and expression without *any* possibility of abridgement. And when we ourselves recognize this truth we see plainly that censorship is not justifiable in any democracy. In the United States today, censorship is practiced on both national and local levels. Nonetheless, it is legally, morally, and practically unjustified.

Legally, the words of the Constitution cannot be plainer. Despite cynical "wisdom," it is not true that "the Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is." As we all know, the members of the Supreme Court agreed to a limitation of the freedom of speech and press in the *Schenk Case,* when Mr. Justice Holmes remarked that the character of every act depended on its circumstances. Despite the clear wording of the Constitution, he held it to be the right of the court to decide whether the utterance or printing of certain words constituted a "clear and present danger" to the government.

On the other hand, in the case of *The Associated Press v. National Labor Relations Board* (301 U.S. 103, 1937), the Court held that the National Labor Relations Act abridged the freedom of the press as it applied to the Associated Press. Mr. Justice Roberts declared in the course of this opinion:

> . . . . those liberties enumerated in the First Amendment are guaranteed *without qualification,* [italics mine] the object and effect of which is to put them in a category apart and make them incapable of abridgement by any process of law. . . .
>
> The destruction or abridgement of a free press—which constitutes one of the most dependable avenues through which information of public and governmental activities may be transmitted to the people—would be an event so evil in its consequences that the least approach toward that end should be halted at the threshold.

My opponent makes a somewhat hazy appeal to war and emergency powers in his efforts to justify political censorship today. I challenge him to show me one place in the United States Constitution which provides for the temporary abridgement of the right to free expression. There is no such provision! This is at once a dilemma and a protection for American democracy in crisis. In wartime, unfortunately, some small censorship may seem advisable; but insofar as democratic government exercises such control, it ceases to be democracy. We can understand this point more clearly if we use the Weimar Republic in Germany as an example. The abridgement of the right to free expression was expressly permitted in crisis. This dangerous exception helped to dig the grave of the German Republic.

All the supreme courts in the world cannot alter the plain meaning of the American Constitution; in the United States today censorship is legally unjustifiable; in plain words, it is unconstitutional.

Secondly, there is absolutely no moral justification for censorship in a democracy. Basic to democratic philosophy is the concept that the individual must be free to hold and to express his own opinions without interference or the fear of interference from the government, or from any organized group. As John Stuart Mill wrote of censorship in 1859:

> Let us suppose . . . . that the government is entirely at one with the people and never thinks of exerting any power of coercion unless in agreement with what it conceives to be their voice. But I deny the right of the people to exercise such coercion, either by

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First Amendment to the Constitution has never justified libel or slander, misbranding, obscenity, incitement to riot, sedition in case of "clear and present danger." As Zechariah Chafee points out, "constitutional freedom of the press is not regarded by the Supreme Court as an absolute right." Except in five states (Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, South Carolina, West Virginia) the constitutional right to free expression is limited by the condition "being responsible for the abuse of that right."

Unfortunately, it has long been in the interest of powerful groups to hide their activities under a cloak of "freedom of the press" or "freedom of speech." Anti-trust legislation, child-labor legislation—in each case tortuous interpretation has been utilized so that big newspaper businesses, for example, could claim "press immunity" for unfair labor practices. Traffickers in obscene literature cry "dictatorship" when their filth is barred from the mails. Radicals of every ilk expect to be allowed to shout for forceful overthrow of our democratic government although they themselves have no vestige of faith in free speech and a free press.

Because we are so proud of our "democracy" and so jealous of its prerogatives, we have fallen into the error of confusing freedom with license, and ignoring the necessary restraints on free speech and press inherent in our tradition and in English common law. As Hocking points out in his study, *Freedom of the Press,* there are three policies governing control over free expression:

> (i) that freedom does not include a privilege to injure tangible interests of other persons; (ii) that the right of freedom must yield to the interest of general security in cases of clear and present danger; and (iii) that as in statutes regarding obscenity the right of freedom may have to yield to the obligation of law to support the most vulnerable standards and ideals of the community.

Whatever supervision is exercised by the government over our modes of free expression is called "censorship" and whatever censorship is necessary in the public interest is justifiable in any society.

Would anyone contend, for example, that the First Amendment to the Constitution authorizes the sale of pornographic literature to children? Obviously the protection of the youth of the nation is vital to a democracy and some agent of federal or local government must be authorized to prohibit the sale of salacious material to minors.

OBSCENITY

Obscenity itself, furthermore, is hard to justify by an appeal to freedom of the press, since obscenity can add nothing valuable to a free society (or any society). That much will probably be admitted by my opponent. "But," he will say, "who is to decide what is obscene?" True enough, obscenity is at least partly in the mind of the reader. Yet if we presuppose that all or almost all the readers have absorbed a certain standard of culture and social behavior, we may then suppose that in general their standards of degrading sex literature will be similar. It is often argued by strict opponents of censorship that what seemed obscene to one era is perfectly acceptable to another. This does not alter in any way the premise that each age should censor for itself that literature it deems degrading. As Professor Hocking points out:

> A published obscenity is not an ideal mental image: it is a disruptive mental image, a violent displacement of the self-sense of the viewer from the region of active purpose to the region of bodily preoccupation; it intrudes upon the eye what is normally in the province of touch and concealment; it begins a psychological disintegration.

Few will maintain that out-and-out obscenity works positive *good* on any portion of our society; on the contrary, it is extremely difficult to maintain that degrading sex literature does not work positive harm to a small but active social group. Psychologists have long felt that sensational crime news, for example, as it is played up in our tabloid papers, is a stimulus to crime. In the same way, pornographic literature is a stimulus to evil, and a democratic society is justified in censoring such literature for its own protection. Unfortunately, inherent in the very nature of the

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material is a strong appeal which makes it impossible for all members of society to self-censor their reading.

No intelligent American can fail to be aware of the evils of this kind of censorship; nor do I mean to deny them. Many harmless books and a very few good books have suffered because of censorship in one city or another, chiefly, of course, in Boston. When censorship is carried to an extreme, as it is there, it becomes only an object for ridicule. This is, however, less a commentary on censorship than on Boston.

Censorship of obscene literature further serves to call it to the attention of the public in scattered cases, such as the notorious book banning of Boston. This is simply not true of the material quietly removed from the United States mails by the federal government, or of state censorship with less publicity. What good taste keeps off the radio, what the Hayes Office removes from the screen, are never heard or seen by the public, and public interest in such censored items is very slight. Here again, there are evils galore in radio and movie censorship and these evils must be corrected. Censorship is a difficult and critical task and it must be performed with delicacy. This does not mean that it cannot be performed at all.

Far more serious and more vital disagreement exists over censorship of speech and press in cases where free expression endangers the national security. It is understood, of course, that the right to free speech does not include the right falsely to yell: "Fire!" in a crowded theatre, or the right to inflame a mob to lynching or other violence. Basic in any society is the right and duty of the society to maintain law and order and to "censor" any action which threatens that order.

Whether my opponent likes it or not, the Supreme Court of the United States has never recognized the right of free speech as being without any limitations. The case of *Schenk v. United States*[1] is possibly the most famous case involving restraints on free expression. This involved the publication in wartime of documents urging defiance of the military draft in the World War I. The defendants charged that their indictment was a violation of the First Amendment. In what has since become the most famous judicial pronouncement on the constitutional guarantee of free expression, Mr. Justice Holmes remarked:

> . . . . the character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done. . . . The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic. It does not even protect a man from an injunction against uttering words that may have all the effect of force. . . . The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree.

Here recognition is given to the fact that words are not merely expressions of opinion; aggressive social action may be hidden under a disguise of free speech and thought. As Justice Holmes saw so clearly, the first duty of government is the preservation of a peaceable and orderly society within its legal framework. Once we concede that government has such an obligation toward society, we must concede that its first duty is the restraint of forces leading to overthrow of the system or disintegration of the culture.

Today this question has especial significance for both federal, state, and local governments. The United States is ostensibly at peace; yet we are in the middle of a very crucial world emergency. We face an adversary with a political philosophy that rejects our concepts of free speech and a free press, an adversary whose disciples are found in every land and in every part of our own country. These men and women, who favor not our democratic form but some type of dictatorship, have no claim on our Constitution when they advocate its forceful overthrow, no claim on governmental protection when they advocate violence. We recognize the limitations of the First Amendment clearly during a war, when we refuse to allow enemy sympathizers to undermine our armed forces or to incite demonstrations hostile to the war effort. In time of emergency, this position is equally valid.

This does not mean that political censorship is easy; in any particular case justice may go

[1] 249 U.S. 47 (1919).

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astray. Our censors, in politics as in morals, must be intelligent, fair-minded and honest; they must not confuse their views with the public welfare. Granted that this sets a very high standard, it does not set an impossible one. Judges are required to be impartial, ministers to be godly, surgeons to be infallible; yet human beings fill these positions to the best of their abilities. So it should be with the censors.

Lest this seem a very unreal argument on a philosophical plane, let us remember again that we do have censorship in the United States at this very moment (and more, of course, in war-time). Through its control over interstate commerce and the United States mails, the federal government exercises some restraint to prevent the spread of obscene literature. The states and local governments exercise even more control. Through its power to make appointments, the federal government controls to some extent the free expressions of those employed by it, in the interest of national security. Anyone may pick out instances in the fields of morals or of politics of unwise, or unfair, censorship; this does alter its necessity. Freedom of expression is the right of every citizen; it is a right because such expression is of benefit to the community. Obviously, then, the community, through the government, may at any time limit this right for its own protection. This protection is called censorship and such censorship is vital to democracy!

[*Continued from page 229*]

> themselves or by their government. *The power itself is illegitimate* [italics mine]. The best government has no more title to it than the worst. It is as noxious, or more noxious, when exerted in accordance with public opinion than when in opposition to it. If all mankind, minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.

Why is this so? Mill's words are still a cogent defense of the absolute right to free expression.

> . . . . the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race, posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging truth for error; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.

My opponent's moral defense of censorship is peculiarly weak. Censorship is morally justified, he maintains, because it constitutes protection for society against obscene literature in one sphere and against revolution in another. His first premise in the literary field is that there is a moral standard for "our era," which can be determined by censors and which provides for them a guide to censorship. This is simply not the case, as a few examples serve to show. Among more orthodox Christian sects, drinking, smoking, and even dancing and movies are still beyond the pale. Magazines carrying liquor advertising, novels mentioning cocktails, or drinking, are condemned. Another large section of the population is enjoined from reading literature on contraception, divorce, or other matters deemed harmful by the authorities of the Church. What one group considers philosophic inquiry, another considers heretical theology. His second premise is that the "moral standard" he sees for our era is worth preserving—an obviously subjective judgment. His third premise, and perhaps the least realistic, is that man cannot protect his own standards and that censorship provides protection for society's morals.

Let us apply my opponent's premises to some actual cases. In March, 1948, the Philadelphia police vice squad confiscated approximately 2,000 "obscene" books, without warrants and without receipts, from more than fifty bookshops, newsstands, and department stores. "Ministers, school authorities, and others" were said to have complained.

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Now the books included in the seizure were of a varied nature, some being "quality" books and others current trash. Among those seized were James T. Farrell's *Studs Lonigan,* Caldwell's *God's Little Acre,* Faulkner's *Sanctuary,* and the current bestseller, *Raintree County.* The board of directors of the Philadelphia Booksellers Association made a statement pointing up the unfairness of the seizures:

> The Philadelphia Booksellers Association is shocked by the unwarranted seizure by Inspector Ellis of hundreds of books from Philadelphia stores, no one of which has been ruled by a court of law to be obscene, and several of which are rated by critics among contemporary American classics. The source of the complaints is unnamed . . . . and at no time was any bookseller consulted as to the justice of these complaints.

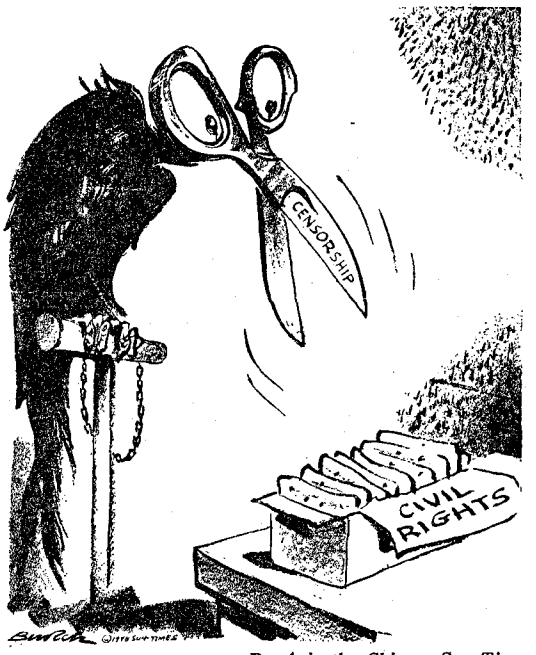
It is obvious, of course, that some section of our culture found the seized books censorable, yet the outcry that has been raised proves that the standard for obscenity is variable indeed.

In New York City, to cite another example, the novel *Gentlemen's Agreement* was refused as a gift to one of the big city high schools because it made light of extra-marital relations. Judges there are aplenty to read evil into much of our modern literature, yet even my opponent admits that the evil is partly in the mind of the reader.

Even today, in Catholic Universities, such authors as Rabelais and Balzac are forbidden to the student body, because the Church finds their writings objectionable, although in most universities students are encouraged to read these authors.

All these items of censorship illustrate a common principle espoused by its supporters: the ordinary mortal is unable to protect himself from moral evil. On examination this proves to be an undemocratic premise from the outset; democracy is predictated on the reasonability and maturity of the common man. The standards of conduct and moral code of each and every one of us should be strong enough to protect us from the evils of obscene or otherwise harmful literature. And, by the same token, every American family should be able to protect its own children by teaching and example.

Censorship, furthermore, defeats its own purpose in most cases; what is "censored" is immediately doubly interesting to the reading public. Since it is impossible completely to prevent dissemination of published books, censorship even gives publicity to books of poor quality. Literary censorship, then, is indefensible.



Burck in the *Chicago Sun Times*

"Polly Wants a Cracker—!!!"

On moral grounds, political censorship is even more evil. My opponent cites the opinion of Mr. Justice Holmes, who set the "clear and present danger" criterion for censorship cases. But Mr. Justice Holmes did not write the last word on constitutional interpretation; in this instance, he was clearly mistaken. To say that censorship is justifiable when words become incentives to action is to justify total censorship. "Mere words"—these are not what our forefathers died for the privilege of uttering. They demanded the right to utter violent words, inflammatory words, revolutionary words! It was not always considered wicked to advocate revolution in the United States. The colonists believed, fought, and died for the principle that governments can be overthrown, by force if necessary. That small handful of leftist agitators in this country who advocate violent overthrow of our government cannot morally be suppressed.

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They are entitled to their opinions; nor can it be honestly maintained that their opinions jeopardize the security of the United States government. Whenever a threateningly large segment of the population advocates the violent overthrow of our government, then the advocates of democracy will have to defend their own views, not censor the opposition. Any other course of action is undemocratic.

Censorship, we have maintained, is legally and morally indefensible. It is also politically impractical in that suppression leads to underground movements and adds to their appeal. All the red-baiting of the past decades, all the witch hunts devised by Congress, have not really crippled the Communist movement in America. Free and open discussion is far more likely to reveal the weaknesses and errors of communism than is censorship. Only in an iron dictatorship is censorship practical; in a democracy it is harmful uselessness.

The democratic philosophy is based upon man's ability to reason, to decide for himself his own best interest, on man's educability, and his conscience. Censorship denies all these premises. Its supporters believe that a small group of men, by some accident of politics or religion, are able to decide for their fellows what is good and what is harmful. Adverse criticism of a strong religion, of a government policy, of a school system, is likely to lead to official and unofficial suppression. Regardless of the issues of truth and falsehood, danger or obscenity, free expression is invaluable for progress. Censorship cannot be justified in a democracy.

No sooner is a freshman seated in his first class room than he encounters a set of questions designed to reveal his inmost soul to the dean or some folksy instructor. A Princeton freshman was asked why he came to Princeton. He replied: "Mother liked the trees."

—*Journal of Education*

A man who had learned to share taxis in Washington, D. C., went to Boston on business. He jumped into a cab with another passenger at Boston's South Station, having overheard the first fare give a destination close to his. He sat back with a cheery smile, and turning to the other passenger, said pleasantly, "My name's Jennings."

"Mine," said the Bostonian coldly, "is not."

—*Watchman Examiner*

The taxi skidded all over the road, and the passenger inside sat up and straightened her hat.

"Don't you worry, Miss," the driver assured her cheerily, "I ain't going to land back in any hospital now after 18 months in one overseas."

"How dreadful!" murmured the passenger sympathetically. "You must have been very seriously wounded."

"No, I wasn't wounded," he replied, happily. "Never got a scratch. I was a mental case!"

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More Than

FIFTY YEARS OF FORUM

Twenty-five years ago, the party which now is the British government, was the subject of a speculative essay in FORUM: "The Fitness of British Labor to Rule." The party that had returned two men to Parliament in 1874 and 60 in 1918 had become His Majesty's Opposition in 1923. The new force in British politics was feared and criticized by all parties because it had not been "educated for political responsibility."

The Communists proclaimed that: *Its leading minds even when put together and pooled, cannot form a vehicle for ideas larger than the parish pump. . . . Its inaccessibility to ideas amounts to positive phobia.*

The Conservatives held that: *The whole danger of the present movement comes from the fact that Labor Party leaders do not see life whole. They have never had the whole of life presented to them as only a University can present life.*

Even the friends of the party felt that "the clank of their chains can be heard as they talk."

Yet M. T. Hodgen, the FORUM observer, shrewdly noted that these objections boil down to the aversion of British society to the entrance of the working classes into politics. While not denying the lack of formal or theoretical education, Mr. Hodgen pointed out that members of the Labor Party had acquired parliamentary and administrative experience in their own unions, some of them holding responsible positions at 16, 18, and 20 and the miners, at 9 and 12.

Mr. Hodgen contrasted the attitude of the "gentleman politician" and the "labor politician" toward their respective constituents: *The typical member of the Commons represents an educated group experienced in political self-expression. He regards it as no part of his duty either to listen to inarticulate voices among his supporters or to reason with them in case of disagreement. The public meeting is his medium of contact with his electors and when a conflict of opinion occurs the gentleman politician customarily votes according to his conscience or resigns his seat. The Labor member, on the other hand, works according to another rule, formulated as the result of the intellectual isolation of the rank and file of his organization from the conduct of state affairs and the compulsion imposed upon trade union officials to earn a living in addition to carrying on their official duties. It becomes his duty not only to find out what his constituents want, but in case of disagreement to convince them by means of meetings with local committees, personal conferences, and frequent circulation of printed matter of what he, as professional representative, regards as the best policy. He functions both as mouthpiece and as a teacher.*

Mr. Hodgen concluded prophetically: *The obvious remedy for lack of Parliamentary experience, is more Parliamentary experience, a conclusion arrived at by all who recommend the election of manual rather than brain workers. The remedy for neglected education is more education, a goal which Labor has set itself and will undoubtedly make. In the meantime, while Parliament may not be as brilliant a place, and debaters may languish for quick-witted opponents, it is possible that the business of government may still proceed refreshed and stimulated by new and vigorous purpose.*

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CONGRESS DEBATES: Housing

THE Special Session of the Eightieth Congress was called in the heat, emotional and atmospheric, of the Democratic National Convention by Harry S. Truman, President and Nominee. This act has been praised by the Democrats as an astute political move and denounced by the Republicans as a cheap political trick.

The Republicans accordingly adopted the general policy that the Special Session was no time to discuss the long-range, controversial problems demanded by the President. Debate over specific issues, however, did not form along party lines, as might have been expected. The Republicans split violently over housing.

The Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill had been passed three times by the Senate and had been bottled up three times in the House Rules Committee, never coming to a vote in the House. Joseph R. McCarthy, Junior Senator from Wisconsin, prepared an amendment to a House housing bill that contained many of the provisions of the T.E.W. bill but omitted any provisions for slum clearance, urban redevelopment, and rural housing. Senator McCarthy thus cast himself in the role of a compromiser, presenting a bill that could pass the House Rules Committee and that would put the Special Session on record in favor of some government assistance in housing. Senator Taft, of Ohio, one of the authors of the original bill, backed the amendment.

Senator Tobey, of New Hampshire, led the fight against the amendment, with assists from Senators Morse, Meyers, Barkeley, Magnuson, and Lucas. Senator Ellender, of Louisiana, delivered an impassioned plea for his bill. Mr. Tobey's wrath exploded against the "pooh-bahs" of the House Rules Committee who were delivering a silent but effective ultimatum to the Senate. Indeed, the President pro tem of the Senate had to admonish Mr. Tobey about inter-house courtesy.

The McCarthy amendment was carried by a vote of 48-36.

FORUM presents below excerpts from this debate, illustrating the ways of politics and the difficulties of our co-equal, bicameral legislative system. [1]

* * *

Mr. TAFT, Republican, Ohio. Mr. President, the general situation is that the House passed a bill before the recess in June, House bill 6959. That bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency.

The subcommittee of that committee prepared a bill, which appears in the so-called committee print which is before the Senate, and which I think Senators will find on their desks. That bill incorporates various portions of Senate bill 866, which was passed by the Senate and ignored by the House. I think it contains one or two provisions of H.R. 6959, and contains one or two additional measures which have come up, attempting in general to straighten out difficulties which have arisen in the housing situation. I shall speak somewhat more at length on the bill a little later.

The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, however, rejected the subcommittee report and by a vote of seven to five, I think it was, and substituted instead the orig-

1 The *Congressional Record, Senate*, Vol. 94, No. 126, pp. 10012-10013; 10020-10029; No. 127, pp. 10074-10077; 10082-10084; 10086-10093.

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inal Senate bill 866 as it passed the Senate. So that the Senate now has before it H. R. 6959, with a committee amendment striking out all after the enacting clause and inserting S. 866. It is my understanding the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. McCarthy) will offer the subcommittee substitute which appears in the committee print, and the main issue in the Senate therefore will be between S. 866 as recommended by the committee as a substitute, and the subcommittee substitute.

The principal difference lies in the fact that the subcommittee substitute does not include any low-rent subsidized housing, nor does it include the urban redevelopment. Those are the main differences between the bills.

* * *

Mr. TOBEY, Republican, New Hampshire. Mr. President, there is an admonition of the Scriptures to avoid vain repetitions. The action contemplated by taking a vote this afternoon is in my judgment another vain repetition. Here on my desk is paper, here are books, here are pamphlets, here are hearings, here is evidence, coming down through the years, three or four years, and embodied in these and many more I could bring here are countless and endless data and voluminous testimony on housing.

The Senate took these data to heart and twice passed a bill favoring the issues which are deleted from the housing bill by the substitute of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. So the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, as handled by the special committee, came in devoid of the two salients, namely, public housing and slum clearance, and those of us who from conviction believe that this nation needs public housing and slum clearance to make a start in this great improvement in human affairs, stand solidly against the substitution.

Mr. SPARKMAN, Democrat, Alabama. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TOBEY. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I should like to call the Senator's attention to another very important provision left out of the substitute, that is, the one relating to rural housing.

Mr. TOBEY. I was just coming to that. That was considered on the floor of the Senate and adopted by the Senate last spring.

Here is the issue, Mr. President. We are going to vote today or tomorrow on whether, under the aegis of the Senator from Wisconsin, we shall strike from the housing bill provisions for public housing, slum clearance and urban rehabilitation. I think the issue is perfectly clear. I believe that the vote was 49 to 33 the last time the question was voted on, in April or May, when the Senate repudiated the effort to strike out public housing. We have taken our stand. Now gentlemen come to us and say, "If you pass this bill you will have no public housing."

Mr. President, I do not like ultimatums, and never did. They sometimes breed war. But I accept that challenge, wherever it comes from, that "if you pass this bill with public housing and slum clearance in it, which twice was passed, you are not going to get any housing legislation." But Mr. President, whoever is saying this may be playing poker. Let us find out who is controlling the interests of humanity in this country. Where has government of the people, for the people, and by the people gone if one man, the head of a powerful committee of one branch of Congress, may say, "We will not let the people's representatives vote on public housing, slum clearance, and urban rehabilitation"?

* * *

Mr. McCARTHY, Republican, Wisconsin. Mr. President. I send to the desk two amendments, one labeled A and one labeled B. I should now like to call up amendment A and ask for its immediate consideration. In view of the length of the amendment, I ask unanimous consent that its reading be waived, and that it be printed in the Record. Senators will find the amendment on their desks in the committee print of House bill 6959, beginning on page 55 and continuing through page 94.

* * *

Mr. President, some days ago, at the request of the Senate leadership, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Tobey] appointed a three-man subcommittee to discuss the question of housing with the House Banking and Currency Committee. In accordance with that suggestion, the Senator from New Hampshire appointed the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCarthy], the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Bricker], and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Buck] to meet with the

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House Banking and Currency Committee. We met with them. Several of the other members of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee were present. We thought we had a rather fruitful discussion.

The House Banking and Currency Committee leadership took the position at that time that a special session is not the time at which to pass slum-clearance legislation or long-range public housing legislation. Regardless of whether we agree or disagree with that position, that was their position. They are very firm in that position.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. TOBEY. Do I correctly understand the Senator to say that the House leadership advised him that they did not feel that this special session was the time at which to pass legislation providing for slum clearance and public housing?

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct.

Mr. TOBEY. Is that what the Senator said?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. TOBEY. Let me refresh the Senator's memory for a moment, if he will permit, and let me ask him if this is true: Does the Senator ever remember any time since he has been a member of the Senate when the House leadership even condescended to smile on legislation on that subject? As a matter of fact, they have had a rod in pickle as to those matters, to be used against them whenever they showed their heads. They have doomed them to extinction, so far as they are concerned, always.

Mr. McCARTHY. As the Senator recalls, I submitted proposed legislation on slum clearance last year; and the Senator from New Hampshire and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS] submitted proposed legislation very similar to it. At the time when we considered the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, as the Senator knows, I submitted various amendments to the public housing features of that bill.

Finally we compromised. As the Senator knows, I supported the slum-clearance and public-housing provisions of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. So I wish that understood.

Mr. TOBEY. Of course, but the point is that in the past the House leadership has never favored that. It has not changed a bit. I wish the members of the Senate to have that point clearly in mind.

* * *

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, as I have stated, the House leadership took the position that they would not accept public-housing legislation at this time or slum-clearance legislation. One of the members of the House of Representatives Banking and Currency Committee telephoned to me within the last ten minutes and called to my attention one of the reasons why they take that position. He called my attention to part of the Republican Party platform dealing with housing, namely:

> We recommend federal aid to the states for local slum-clearance and low-rental housing programs only where there is a need that cannot be met either by private enterprise or by the states and localities.

That is a different approach from the one you have been fighting for. Whether that approach would meet with the approval of the Senator from New Hampshire, I do not know; but again I point out that the House states bluntly that it will not accept slum-clearance legislation or public-housing legislation at this time. I hope the Senator from New Hampshire understands my point.

Mr. TOBEY. Yes; I understand.

Mr. McCARTHY. So the point is that if we are to have any housing legislation at this session, at least the House will not agree to have slum-clearance and public-housing provisions included in it.

REVIEW OF BILL

We now have before us what the subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has agreed upon. We feel that the thing this bill will accomplish, above all else, will be the stimulation of the production of low-cost housing. By this bill we shall make the loans for lower-cost housing much more liberal than they previously have been made. We attempt to tighten up credit on the more expensive homes.

Let me review the bill briefly. First of all as to title VI—the much-disputed title—we have

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dropped from that title the section dealing with "for sale" housing. We felt that was too inflationary and that it stimulated the production of the more expensive types of homes.

However, we have retained section 608, the one dealing with rental housing. We provide for an additional $800 million authorization.

I may say that we have talked to any number of men in the Housing Administration; and although their position is that they favor, as does the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY], slum clearance and public housing, nevertheless they tell us that unless section 608 is reactivated there will be a great slump in home building during the present year. I think there is no doubt about that.

We have retained section 609. That is the section dealing with loans to prefabricated housing manufacturers. Substantially the only change which has been made, as compared with the law now in existence, is one to make it possible for the prefabricated housing manufacturers to get the loans which Congress intended them to get.

I may say that everything we have in this bill, everything that it contains, I believe, is endorsed 100 per cent by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS], and, I believe, by everyone else interested in housing. If I misstate the Senator's position, I hope he will tell me so. I think the position the Senator from New Hampshire takes is that although everything we provide for in this bill is good and although it is an improvement over those sections of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill previously referred to, nevertheless the bill is incomplete unless public housing and slum clearance are provided for.

One of the new provisions we have made in this bill is for a 95-per cent guaranty of loans on homes which cost $6,300 or less. Of course, the purpose is obvious. It is, in effect, to force contractors to concentrate on the lower-cost homes, because unless we make loans easier to obtain on such homes, many persons will not be able to buy them, and there would be no use in building less expensive homes.

We have retained section 610, which merely has to do with the insurance of loans on war housing and loans on Greenbelt housing and loans for the purchase of the T.V.A. village properties. I understand the Appropriations Committee has taken action indicating congressional desire that there be a disposal of those T.V.A. villages.

We have retained section 611 of the T.E.W. bill, but have made one major change, feeling that 611 as presently contained in the T.E.W. bill is too inflationary. The maximum cost of a home under 611 of the present bill I believe is $9,000 or thereabouts. We have reduced that to $7,500. We have reduced the construction guaranty from 90 per cent to 80 per cent in an attempt to make that particular section of the bill less inflationary. I understand there is still some difference of opinion as to whether we should enact this section even in its present form, but our subcommittee unanimously agreed we should, in view of the fact that it concentrates solely on cheaper housing.

* * *

There is one other very important change. The veterans' cooperative measure passed by this body in the closing days of the last session provided guaranteed loans to veterans' cooperatives. Apparently, because of an oversight, there was no change made in the old room limitation. The room limitation was $1,350. Obviously such a limitation cannot be applied at this time. Originally we had increased that to an $8,100 per unit limitation. However, the commissioner of housing of New York, through the office of the Senator from New York [Mr. IVES], and with the Senator, called our attention to a very sizable project which is under construction in New York by the United Veterans' Mutual Housing Co., Inc., known as Bell Park Gardens. If I am incorrect in my statements, I hope the Senator from New York [Mr. IVES] will correct me. I understand that much planning has gone into that particular project. I understand that veterans have paid down some money. I understand there are commitments from a bank in the amount of—I do not know how many millions of dollars, but I believe it is over $7,000,000. The commitments have been made at 3½ per cent interest.

Mr. IVES, Republican, New York. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

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Mr. McCARTHY. Certainly; I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I simply desire to cite some facts pertaining to the particular project to which the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin refers. The first of such projects, an 800-apartment garden-type project, planned for Bayside, Queens, under section 608, at the beginning of this year, on the basis of $1,800 per room, cannot be built at any lesser mortgage figure. Some 600 veterans have made down payments averaging $1,000, almost $600,000 being now on deposit. One of the largest New York banks made a $7,250,000 mortgage commitment at 3½ per cent, an interest rate no longer available. An option on the 40 acres of land was obtained at the very reasonable price of $8,000 per acre. Anyone who is familiar with that section of New York knows that that is a very reasonable price. A reputable contracting firm agreed to construct the project at figures which have since increased. All of this was based on the $1,800 per room mortgage then available under section 608, and the good faith and prestige of the State of New York—its word to some 600 individual veterans who are willing to help themselves by personally financing their own apartments without one cent of public funds as a means of obtaining badly needed housing within the private-enterprise system—now hang in the balance.

I thank the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I understand that loan commitments have been made totaling in excess of $1 million. Is that correct?

Mr. IVES. The amount is $7,250,000.

Mr. McCARTHY. That commitment has been made at the rate of 3½ per cent. Since the increase in interest rates, I gather that the bank would be very happy to get out from under the contract. A firm contract was made with a builder. Since that time costs have increased, and I assume the building contractor would be happy to have a release of that contract.

Mr. IVES. I should like to point out that unless this provision in the present statutes is made, this whole project will go down in defeat and failure, and there will be no project.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is what I was coming to; unless we pass some housing legislation at this time, that is just one of the projects which will be dropped. It can be multiplied by 50, 100, 500—I do not know how many times. But unless we pass some housing legislation, the building of homes for veterans will cease over night.

For the record, and so that the F.H.A. may be thoroughly apprised of what the Senate has in mind, I wish very briefly to detail the amendments we made to the bill, to cover Bell Park Gardens and other like projects.

There was an $8,100 per unit limitation, but we find in these cooperatives that it is often necessary to have apartments of 5 or 6 or 7 rooms. In such a situation obviously a per-unit limitation is unworkable. We have therefore provided that where a veterans' cooperative is concerned, the head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency may shift from the per-unit limitation to a per-room limitation of $1,800 per room, and that will take care of the situation in Bell Park Gardens and countless other like situations.

There is another substantial change, and I think this is especially important in view of the Federal Reserve Board's recent memorandum issued to the member banks to tighten up on home loans. With the Federal Reserve System tightening up on home loans, and many state banks following that lead, as they often do, we find that in many areas it is almost impossible to get loans for low-cost homes. So what we are doing in this bill at this time—and this meets with the approval of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. JENNER], who originally introduced the bill—is to increase the secondary market from 25 per cent of the portfolio to 50 per cent.

We have taken title I from the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, which deals almost exclusively with what is known as title I, class 3 homes. There are very few of those in large cities; they are rural and semi-rural homes. We have increased the loan limitation from $3,000 to $4,500. The T.E.W. bill increased the authorization from $165 million to $175 million. In this bill we have increased it to $200 million. In other words, there is a $35 million increase in the authorization. The loan being a 10-per cent loan, the increase of value of low-

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cost homes covered by this increase would total $350 million. Again, that is aimed to inducing the contractors to get down in the low-cost housing field.

I think we have one of the most important sections of the bill, from a long-range standpoint, on page 74, starting on line 18, entitled "Standardized Building Codes and Measurements." As all Senators know, the Joint Housing Committee, which spent many thousands of dollars traveling across the country attempting to study thoroughly the housing situation in order to find out what the really serious road blocks in the way of housing were, agreed, I think, unanimously, that one of the most serious road blocks in the way of low-cost housing is the greatly outmoded cost-increasing restrictive codes in some 2,000 different metropolitan areas. We feel that this has contributed to keeping the building industry roughly 50 years behind the times.

We think this situation cannot be corrected except with some federal cooperation, so in this bill we set up within the Housing and Home Finance Agency a section whose sole job will be to work toward the standardization of codes and the standardization of measurements and building materials. That, of course, calls also for some research, which will cost money, how much we do not know, but regardless of how much it costs we feel it will be money very well spent. It will call for research in connection with accomplishing these two objectives, namely, standardization of codes and standardization of building materials. It does not call for any other research except that type of research.

YIELD INSURANCE

We have taken the yield-insurance program from the T.E.W. bill in toto and put it in this bill on page 75. There is a great deal of difference of opinion as to how much good this yield-insurance program may do. So far we have met with no one who says it will do any harm. As Senators know, simply stated, the yield-insurance program merely says to the equity investor—not the man who borrows money, but the equity investor, "If you will build rental units and set the rent to yield roughly 3½ per cent on the investment, we will guarantee you a 2¾ per cent return." It is not anticipated by our committee or by the Bureau of the Budget that this will cost the taxpayer a single cent. A number of insurance companies say this will induce them to come into the rental market and start to producing cheaper rental housing.

Mr. WATKINS, Republican, Utah. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. WATKINS. Has the committee made a study to determine whether or not the renters can pay the rent which will yield the rate of interest the Senator is mentioning on the money invested by the trust funds?

Mr. McCARTHY. How low in rentals the equity investor can get I do not know. In one city he may produce rental units which will rent at $60, in another city rental units which will rent for $35 or $40. We know that if we take the formula the F.H.A. uses in setting rents on section 608 projects, and compare that with the formula used in setting rents under the yield-insurance plan, there will be a saving of 20 per cent, I think it is, at any rate, it is a substantial saving. These are not my figures, they are figures from the Department, and I have used them in the RECORD heretofore.

Let me briefly explain. In setting the rental on the section 608 projects, in view of the fact that the builder must borrow the money and pay interest on it, and pay insurance, they must set a higher return than as though he were using his own money. The return is roughly 6 or 6½ per cent, according to the formula used. Actually if one will sit down and take his pencil he will find it is 8 or 9 per cent. In other words, in the section 608 projects rental units are being produced in which the rents are set to yield an 8 or 9 per cent return. If we can get investors to come in under this yield-insurance section of the bill, we will have rental units on which the return will be only 3 or 3½ per cent, and it will produce units that will rent for less money.

Mr. WATKINS. If the rental is not sufficient to make the return, the United States government then will have to pay the difference, will it not?

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Mr. McCARTHY. We have gone into this matter very thoroughly, and the Bureau of the Budget has gone over it. If times are even semi-normal, or even with a depression, it is not estimated that this will cost the taxpayers anything, for the reason that the returns are set to yield 3½ per cent.

Mr. WATKINS. I do not think the Senator caught my question. Assuming that the rentals, with the premiums, or whatever is charged for the insurance, are not sufficient to take care of what will have to be made up under the insurance program, the Treasury of the United States will have to make up the difference, as I understand.

Mr. McCARTHY. If we had a depression so great that these rental units were empty, or if the renters could not pay a rental to yield 3½ per cent, the Treasury Department would have to make up that deficit. Before that happens, however, every section 608 project in the vicinity will be empty, and the government itself will be really in the housing business. So that before it costs us anything under the yield-insurance plan we can be quite certain that we will have taken back every section 608 project. I do not think that will happen.

Mr. WATKINS. My observation is that in the event the returns on rentals are not sufficient to make up the insured income, the Treasury Department will have to take care of it, anyway, and it will in effect be a subsidy.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct, I will say to the Senator, but—

Mr. WATKINS. What is the difference between that and the public housing provision under which some help is provided for the low-income group?

Mr. McCARTHY. First let me give the reason for yield insurance. Many insurance companies under their charters, under their contracts with their policyholders, under various state laws, cannot go into the field of building rental housing. This type of bill will enable them to do that. There have been very extensive studies, starting back with the Taft committee in 1944, and as yet we have had no witness come before the committee and say that this plan will cost the taxpayer money. Now with that unanimity of feeling I cannot feel that we need to be too disturbed about it. There is no doubt that if we get such a depression that every apartment house in the country is empty, and every renter is unable to pay his rent, then certainly this project will cost money. But if that time comes, we would not be much disturbed about this matter.

Mr. WATKINS. I will ask the Senator whether a study has been made to determine whether or not these apartments can be rented at a sum which the low income group can pay, and which will still yield the amount of guaranteed return?

Mr. McCARTHY. Such a study has been made. I might say we are deeply indebted to Columbia University for the aid it gave. They lent us Mr. Jones full time. They gave us unlimited help. I will say that a study has been made, and that all of us who gave some time studying this particular proposition are fully convinced that the equity investor who is satisfied to take 3½ per cent on his money can produce rental units for less than the man who borrows money and pays 4½ per cent, pays an insurance premium, and who must make a profit. The purpose of this is to get cheaper rental units, and try and get equity money in the market. As we all know there is practically no equity money in the market today and I think until we do get equity money into the market we will have difficulty in getting rents down.

Mr. WATKINS. Has the Senator received any explanation from firms or institutions which have this type of money as to whether they are willing to enter into a program of this kind?

Mr. McCARTHY. At the time of the hearings on the original Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill only one of the insurance companies said it would commence building under this particular program. Since that time we went over the matter with all the major insurance companies to find what their objection was to the yield-insurance program in the original T.E.W. bill. They had some minor objections, none of any great importance. They were mostly questions of bookkeeping. We think we have successfully met those objections. We have been led by various insurance companies to believe we have done so. While we have no firm commitments by any insurance companies that they will start to build, we feel that this program will at least open the door to let them

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come in and build. In other words, we are in a position where nothing can be lost and everything can be gained.

Mr. WATKINS. Is it the Senator's opinion, then, that this particular provision will furnish the means for housing such as the public housing feature of the T.E.W. bill seeks to provide?

Mr. McCARTHY. Very definitely not.

Mr. WATKINS. It is not intended to accomplish that purpose?

Mr. McCARTHY. Very definitely not. At least it would not provide rental units for the group that I would like to see taken care of by way of public housing.

We have the same salary provisions that were in the T.E.W. bill that was passed by the Senate, and we also have a provision for the eviction of over-income tenants in the present 190,000 public housing units. We do not provide that they must be evicted instantly. We provide that the F.P.H.A., the local housing agency, shall evict them in an orderly manner, and I understand they have a program of evicting five per cent each month on six months' notice.

I have one amendment which I have taken the liberty of adding to the bill without having first consulted the other two members of the subcommittee. I do not believe they are present. If they disagree with this amendment, I shall feel forced to remove it from the bill. I hope they will agree to it.

First, I propose to give the reason for the amendment. I have had countless numbers of veterans and veterans' wives call on me and tell me that they go to these federally-financed projects. They apply for an apartment. Everything is all set. They can get the apartment until they make the mistake of saying that they have one or two children. Once they mention children they are ruled out as far as getting an apartment is concerned.

The main reason why we are furnishing these liberal loans to stimulate the production of rental housing is so that the veterans and their families and the rest of our lower-income groups can be properly housed, and if a man can apply for a federal loan, take advantage of all these federal funds, and then say, "I am going to defeat the purposes of the bill by having an absolute bar against anyone who is raising a family," then there is no need of passing any housing legislation at all.

I shall read my proposed amendment:

> *Provided further,* That no mortgage shall be insured under section 608 of this title unless the mortgagor certifies under oath that in selecting tenants for the property covered by the mortgage he will not discriminate against any family by reason of the fact that there are children in the family, and that he will not sell the property while the insurance is in effect unless the purchaser so certifies such certification to be filed with the Administrator; and violation of any such certification shall be a misdemeanor punishable by fine of not to exceed $500.

In closing, Mr. President, I will say that while I, myself, supported the slum-clearance provision, spent weeks drafting what I thought was a good slum-clearance provision, while I supported the public-housing provision as it was finally written, and I voted for it then, and I would vote for it again. I will say I know the one way in which we can kill all housing legislation and make sure that there will be no housing legislation at this session, is to include a public-housing and slum-clearance provision in the bill.

* * *

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, addressing myself to the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, there are two or three subtitles which I wish to take up with him.

The first is his dogmatic statement—I know that he is sincere—that unless we take this bill, we can get nothing. On that basis he has been assiduously interviewing Senators and trying to get votes by saying, "If you do not take this, you get nothing." That is very far from the truth. I challenge that statement. Where is the authority for it? Who told the Senator that?

Mr. McCARTHY. I will give the Senator my authority.

Mr. TOBEY. Come across.

Mr. McCARTHY. I am sure that if the Senator will check the matter he will agree with me. I have been informed that the majority of the House Rules Committee will not at this time take a bill with public housing or slum clearance in it. I am sure that they are serious.

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Herblock in *The Washington Post*

"PATIENCE, PAL—WE'RE STILL WORKING ON IT"

Mr. TOBEY. I know that they are serious. So am I.

Mr. McCARTHY. I believe that the Senator also feels that they are serious.

* * *

Mr. TOBEY. Yes. On that basis I address myself to the Senator from Wisconsin, and ask him who is this House leadership. Who are they? Is it JESSE P. WOLCOTT, Representative from Michigan? Is it RALPH A. GAMBLE, of New York; is it JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., the Speaker of the House? Who is it? I ask the Senator from Wisconsin to name them.

REPRESENTATIVE WOLCOTT

Mr. McCARTHY. I shall be glad to do so. There is no question about this matter. I think Representative WOLCOTT represents the majority in the House of Representatives in matters of housing, and he has authorized me to say that they simply will not accept public housing provisions. He told us this, and the Senator from New Hampshire was present, I believe. He said, "We will give you gentlemen of the Senate a blank check in drafting housing legislation if you will keep out of this bill provisions as to public housing and slum clearance, and if you do not go too far in the research section."

Both the Senator from New Hampshire and I may disagree as to the wisdom of that; we may think that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLCOTT] should be in favor of public housing and slum clearance. But the point is that as of today, we face a situation in which we shall not get housing legislation of any sort unless we proceed along those lines.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I have a feeling of compassion in my heart for the Senator from Wisconsin for what is coming to him right now. What he is saying to us, Mr. President, is that some pooh-bah in the House of Representatives has said to us, "Unless you take this, you get nothing."

Mr. McCARTHY. Oh, no.

Mr. TOBEY. That is what the Senator said he said.

Let me complete my statement, Mr. President. Does not the Senator know that the entire House Banking and Currency Committee voted out the bill with public-housing and slum-clearance provisions in it; but then, by the subtle influence of some leadership over there, which I think I can name, they went to the chairman of the Rules Committee and told him what should be done, and he obeyed the orders; and as a result, the will of the people and the democratic process are set at naught, and one man's will is to rule; one man, sitting at the door of legislation says, "They shall not pass."

* * *

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator should not scold me.

Mr. TOBEY. I was simply telling the Senator.

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me make clear that I did not intend, and never have intended, to intimate that the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, Representative WOLCOTT, speaks for himself alone. I think he is speaking for a vast group of Republicans.

Mr. TOBEY. I will tell the Senator who he is speaking for.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will please address the Chair.

Mr. TOBEY. I addressed the Chair. I wanted to tell the Senator who they were.

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Mr. McCARTHY. I ask the Senator to wait just a minute, please.

As I said, Representative WOLCOTT is speaking for the majority; and there are a number of members of the House of Representatives who have been firmly convinced that, in view of the tremendous shortage of building materials, it would be disastrous to the home-building program if we were now to commence a public-housing program. They look at the present administration of many of the public housing units. For example—begging the pardon of the Senator from Michigan—they can look at the unit in Detroit, in which until three months ago at least, a man making $24,000 a year was living—in a subsidized apartment—and was paying $45 a month for it, while at the same time we had come before us at our committee hearings in Detroit any number of veterans' widows who had two or three children and were living with them in one-room, basement apartments. There are in that project a considerable number of men making over $10,000 a year, while veterans are walking the streets, looking for a place in which to live. One veteran told me he was paying $15 a week for one basement room for himself and his wife and their two children—while a man making over $10,000 a year was paying $45 a month for this subsidized housing.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will please be in order.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. TOBEY. I thank the Senator.

The Senator has aroused my righteous indignation. I share with him the same kind of indignation that he has for such an extravagant situation as the one he has described, but the Senator from Wisconsin knows that is not a matter related to this bill. That is a matter of administration, and it can be corrected as such. It does not involve this proposed legislation.

Will the Senator from Wisconsin please confirm the statement I make now; will he please state whether I am correct in saying that the House Banking and Currency Committee, chairmaned by the Honorable JESSE WOLCOTT, of Michigan, reported the bill with public housing provisions in it and slum clearance provisions in it; and is it the Senator's understanding and knowledge, and is it not confirmed now by me, that thereafter the House Rules Committee said, "Regardless of whether it was reported by the committee, it will never come up on the floor of the House"; and the Senator himself was told, "It is either this or nothing."

If that be true, and if we accept it and act in accordance with it, the democratic processes will have gone by the wind. The Senator knows that to be so. JESSE WOLCOTT is a friend of mine, and I esteem him highly; but he is not alone in this matter. In my opinion, it is a triumvirate; it is the Speaker of the House, JOSEPH W. MARTIN; and CHARLES HALLECK, of Indiana, sometime candidate for President; and JESSE WOLCOTT. Those are the big three, and they issue the dictum, "They shall not pass."

I suggest that if we bow to them we shall be saying, "Whenever you want to block something in the future, just play the same game."

Mr. President, let us find out who is running this country. If we accept the attempt that is made in this case, the result of our action will be that the people will be the victims of an oligarchy composed of from one to three men.

Mr. McCARTHY. My point is—and the Senator will agree with me, I think—that if no housing legislation is passed, that will be just as bad—

Mr. TOBEY. Let me say—

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I refuse to yield until I finish this sentence.

I started to say that the men who have been mentioned by the Senator from New Hampshire are highly respected by me. I think the Senator's statements are very unfortunate. The members of the House of Representatives who take that position are just as serious in doing so as we in taking the position that we take. As a matter of fact, they have good reason to feel justified in their position. When they look at the situation in public housing, as I have said, they find that

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the situation is extremely foul. We cannot blame the present Administrator too greatly, I believe. The conditions which brought about the present situation were largely beyond his control. During the wartime period we had a great parade of public housing administrators. We had thrown into public housing many jobs and different kinds of bookkeeping systems, all of which helped create the present chaotic condition. But the point is that today, when those men look at public housing they see that it is not being administered as it should be. They know it is not being administered for the individuals about whom the Senator is concerned. They find that public housing is now being administered for the benefit of a favored few.

The matter of money is important. The General Accounting Office called in what they considered to be one of the top accounting firms. The members of the House of Representatives can look at the report of that accounting firm, which shows that, as of that time, the Public Housing Administration kept no record of receipts, no record of expenditures, no record of accounts due, no record of accounts payable. They can look at those matters; and they can find, for example, that someone in the Public Housing Administration entered on the books an item of $647,000, or thereabouts; and when questioned about it by a committee headed by one of the Democratic Senators, that man said, "Well, we had to enter it to balance the books." That is the type of administration that has been had.

Moreover, they can look at reports to the effect that in the Los Angeles area, $97,000 worth of lumber and scarce material simply disappeared; and when the Administrator was questioned about it and was asked whether he knew whether it went to someone's lakeshore home, or was stolen, or just what happened to it, he said, "I do not have any idea."

When those men see public housing so badly administered, I do not think we can question their motives when they say it will not solve the housing problem to give that same administration additional billions of dollars and when they refuse to accept public housing.

I think it is very unfair of the Senator from New Hampshire to question the motives of the members of the House of Representatives who take a position contrary to his.

I repeat that if, as the Senator from New Hampshire says, those men are blocking housing legislation in the manner in which the Senator from New Hampshire claims they are, then the Senator from New Hampshire also is blocking it by saying that unless we pass public housing legislation we shall have no housing legislation.

Mr. TOBEY. The Senator yields to the defense. The charge made by the Senator from Wisconsin is that the Senator now speaking is equally guilty with the triumvirate or anybody else in the House in blocking housing legislation. That is the charge. Here comes the answer. The fact remains that nothing of the sort is true in the slightest degree. All the Senator from New Hampshire is trying to do in his Committee on Banking and Currency is to report a bill reflecting the views of the Senate, a bill thrice passed by the Senate embodying both slum clearance and public housing. I may say, after having conferred with the Senator from New York [Mr. IVES], that he is in favor of the bill.

What the Senate is going to do is this: They are going to pass a separate bill tomorrow, which will be in accordance with their views. The matter will be taken care of 100 per cent.

HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE

Coming down to the question of unfairness, all I ask is that the fairest thing in the world, the democratic process, be enthroned in this day and generation under the Capitol dome. All we ask for is that the bill be passed here by the Senate, be sent to the House, and go to conference. Under the rules of the House and Senate, that is where it should go.

But the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin said, "I know it never will go to conference; they will not let it." So we are met with the dictum, "You can not take this bill to conference," and the democratic processes are set at variance, in effect nullified. Let the bill pass in the Senate and go to conference; then let the minds of the conferees work, and let them produce what we want, which is a piece of legislation *pro bono publico*. That is what we propose to do. If that is unfair, make the most of it. I cannot follow the Senator.

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Mr. McCARTHY. If the Senator from New Hampshire will bear with me, he speaks of the democratic processes. We have certain rules in the House, the same as here. There is a rule that the bill must go to the Rules Committee. If the Rules Committee sees fit, it will report the bill and it will go to the floor. That rule has been in existence ever since the establishment of Congress. It has been in existence under both Democratic and Republican administrations. We have never seen fit to change the rule.

Mr. TOBEY. We have nothing to do with it here.

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me say that if the majority of the Rules Committee say the bill shall not go to the floor, it will not go to the floor. That is the democratic process—the majority rule. The majority of that committee feel as strongly, if not more strongly against the recent use of public housing than you feel for it. Apparently the majority of that committee are committed against public housing as it is now administered. That is their right. They feel this program should not be passed at this time.

I call the Senator's attention to this, and I ask whether if I am correct: If we pass the public-housing section, that will not produce a single unit within the next year. If I may refresh the Senator's memory on that, we have had testimony before us. I am sure if he will check with the F.P.H.A. they will tell him so. They will tell him the only public-housing units that can possibly be activated before July 1 of next year would be some of the 15,000 units that had been planned but not built prior to the war. They will tell the Senator, I am sure, that not a single public-housing unit can be obtained within the next year, if this bill is passed.

* * *

Mr. TOBEY. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY] said he was told by Representative WOLCOTT that the bill would not go to conference and the democratic process would not be carried through.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TOBEY. I yield.

Mr. McCARTHY. I have been told that a majority of the Rules Committee are against it. I have a definite impression that that is a correct statement. We also can canvass our Banking and Currency Committee to find out what type of legislation will come through, and we find that nothing but a bill with public housing can pass thru that committee. I tried to make similar canvass of the Rules Committee of the House. I am told that for what are considered by them good and sufficient reasons they will not pass a public housing bill which, during a period of scarcity might disrupt the whole building industry. Whether they are right or wrong, I do not know, but that is the way those men feel, and they do have some good reasons to feel that way. I know a majority of the committee will not favor a bill which contains public-housing and slum-clearance provisions. I think every Senator here knows that to be so. Every Senator knows, if the Senator from New Hampshire is successful on the floor of the Senate in having his amendment accepted, that there will be no housing legislation passed by the House.

Mr. MAGNUSON, Democrat, Washington. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TOBEY. I yield.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I want to inquire of the Senator from Wisconsin whether it is the case—I do not say it is not the case—that since the Senate has on many occasions expressed a desire to have in a housing bill slum clearance and public housing in some degree, why it would not be better for the Senate to have the members of the Rules Committee turn down the Senate measure? I hope the Senator from Wisconsin will answer that question.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Wisconsin? The Chair would like to have the debate proceed in order, if it is humanly possible.

Mr. TOBEY. The Senator from New Hampshire gladly yields to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, the Rules Committee of the House has already turned down such a bill. If we send it to them the second time I am firmly convinced they will do the same thing again.

Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

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Mr. TOBEY. I yield.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Then the public is to understand that the reason public housing and slum clearance are not in the housing bill is because a majority of the Rules Committee is opposed to it. I think we ought to get this clear. Is it a majority of the committee, or a majority of the members of the House?

Mr. McCARTHY. Do not ask me to delve into the minds of the representatives. We both know that the Rules Committee has once refused to report the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. It is completely senseless therefore, in the closing days of this session, to say we will give them the same measure in the hope that they will change their minds.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I am not arguing the merits of the question. I want to place the responsibility for the failure of slum clearance and public housing where it belongs, not on the United States Senate, which has approved such measures, I think, three times.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator from Washington and to my friend from Wisconsin that the Rules Committee turned thumbs down. Let it stand that way; but let us send the bill over and let it go to conference. There is nothing dogmatic in our position. We should let the conference prevail. Is not that correct?

Mr. MAGNUSON. That is correct.

* * *

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Will the Senator from New Hampshire permit the Chair to submit what he believes to be a pertinent observation?

Mr. TOBEY. I should be delighted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair has not interrupted the debate, because no point of order has been made, but the Chair feels, in fairness to the rules of the Senate and to the Senate, and by way of suggestion to the Senators themselves, that one of the very fundamental points in our established procedure is that Senators shall not refer to Members of the other branch of the Congress or to proceedings therein.

There is no specific rule on the subject; but *Jefferson's Manual,* as carried in our own manual, and as used as guidance for our conduct, reads as follows:

> It is a breach of order in debate to notice what has been said on the same subject in the other House, or the particular votes or majorities on it there, because the opinion of each House should be left to its own independency, not to be influenced by the proceedings of the other; and the quoting them might beget reflections leading to a misunderstanding between the two Houses.

May the Chair respectfully say that the precedents of the Senate are legion on this subject, and without a single exception of which the Chair is advised, whenever a point of order has been made against reference to members of the other House, the point of order has been sustained. The Chair could put a number of decisions of that character into the RECORD if it were deemed desirable.

There can be no question about the nature and extent of these precedents. The Chair feels that there has to be some latitude in the application of the precedents and procedures when, as in the present instance, it is the question of some pertinence, in respect to our own discussion, as to what the attitude of the House may be. But the Chair would like to beg of Senators, in continuing this debate, to stay, so far as possible, within the spirit of this clear and essential rule, so that if a point of order is subsequently made Senators will not be taken by surprise.

The Chair submits these observations in the greatest of good faith and without any reflection on any Senator.

* * *

Mr. ELLENDER, Democrat, Louisiana. Mr. President, I know of no subject that has ever been presented to the Senate which has received more earnest consideration from the committees of both branches of the Congress. For more than four years committees have been at work upon this problem. In 1944 and in 1945 there was appointed a Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Development, of the Senate Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning, the subcommittee being headed by the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT]. That committee held hearings for many months. From the hearings thus held the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill was formulated, which was later submitted to this body and passed by it almost unanimously.

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That bill, Senate 1592, was then sent to the House, where it was pigeonholed by the same forces that are now objecting to the passage of a measure similar to the one which is presently before the Senate. The report accompanying the introduction of S. 1592 recommended the improvement and extension of the F.H.A. mortgage programs; a yield-insurance program; a housing research program; a program of federal loans and contributions to communities for urban redevelopment; an extension of the present low-rent housing program; and a clear statement of our national housing policy. While not making any recommendations as to the form of farm housing legislation, it emphasized the need thereof.

At about the same time the Taft committee was holding hearings, a Special House Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning held hearings on postwar housing. That committee, which was known as the Colmer committee, came to the same conclusion as did the Taft committee, that dwelling units of a character that could be built under the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill should be built. Then the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency considered the subject as presented to it when S. 1592 was introduced by its three authors. That committee not only relied upon the evidence which was adduced before the special Taft committee, but it held hearings of its own, and as a result of those hearings they recommended the provisions which were incorporated in S. 1592.

As I indicated a few minutes ago, S. 1592, the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, was passed by the Senate and failed to pass the House of Representatives during the Seventy-ninth Congress. When the Eightieth Congress convened, it was necessary to introduce a new housing bill. Accordingly S. 866, more commonly known as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, was introduced. Hearings were again held by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, and in its report accompanying S. 866 the following recommendations were made: A declaration of national housing policy; a housing research program; improvement of the F.H.A. mortgage-insurance programs and their extension to meet the needs of lower-income families; a yield-insurance program; a program of federal loan and annual contributions aid to localities for urban redevelopment; an extension of the public low-rent housing program; and a farm housing program.

* * *

FLANDERS AMENDMENTS

Senators will remember that when S. 866 was considered by this body the so-called Flanders amendments were presented to that bill by way of a substitute and extensive debate ensued on the issue of the over-all housing bill. The Flanders substitute was really and truly the same as S. 866 with the exception of a few minor and technical amendments to make the bill conform to some of the recommendations of the joint Senate-House committee heretofore referred to. Efforts were then made to amend the bill, striking out the title dealing with public housing. I am sure that all of us will recall that the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN], who sits at my right at the moment, led the fight to have public housing eliminated from that bill.

The bill which is now under consideration is a very important measure. It contains most of the provisions of S. 866 as amended by the so-called Flanders substitute. It provides facilities to assist every segment of our society, not only those able to help themselves but also people in the lower-income groups. We passed similar legislation on two occasions. The first measure, as I indicated a moment ago, was pigeonholed by the House. During the last session the Senate passed Senate bill 866. What happened to it? It went to the House. Hearings were held, and the Committee on Banking and Currency of that body, by a vote of 14 to 13, as I recall, reported the bill favorably for consideration by the House. What is its status before the Rules Committee of the House? There it rests with an ultimatum that it shall not be reported to the House for consideration.

* * *

Now, what are the facts about housing needs? I know of no better place to turn to than the majority report filed just last March by the Joint Committee on Housing, which was created by this Congress to study the housing problem. I should add that these find-

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ings corroborated earlier conclusions reached by other committees, particularly the Senate Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Redevelopment in 1945 and the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in 1946 and 1947, and that its estimates of need were determined after careful consideration of other estimates from a variety of sources. Data obtained from the Bureau of the Census reports as to population and housing inventory provide the basis of these estimates of need.

Putting aside farm needs for the moment, America will need 15,441,000 new homes by 1960 to provide decent homes for the 39,500,000 families which the Bureau of the Census estimates we will have by that time. That means 1,285,000 homes a year. Discounting the considerable number of farm dwellings that can be rehabilitated, we shall need 200,000 farm homes a year—bringing the total up to 1,500,000 new homes annually.

It will take over 7 million non-farm homes, or more than 600,000 units a year, just to bring the present supply up to the shelter requirements of American families and to provide a four per cent effective vacancy rate. Before the war, real-estate people used to think the supply was normal when five per cent vacancies existed. That is about all we have been doing in this country for the last quarter of a century. Over the long pull, housing construction has just been keeping ahead of the increase in number of families. We have done practically nothing to replace the slums—to replace the losses from fire, demolition, and floods. That is all we will do during the coming years if we do not make a comprehensive attack on the housing problem through effective legislation. If that is all we do, we will have more, instead of fewer, slums. . .

If we really meet America's housing needs, if we really want to eliminate the slums that imperil the health and morale of several million of our people, we are going to need another 8 million homes during the next 12 years, or nearly 700,000 homes a year, to provide replacements for urban and suburban slum dwellings which are presently or will become substandard, for dwellings lost by fire, demolition, and floods, and for temporary dwellings, most of them built during the war for only short-time use.

Despite the findings of the joint committee and of other congressional committees, there are still those who say we can solve this housing problem without enacting comprehensive housing legislation. Despite the record of festering urban slums and dreary rural shacks, there are those who say that if government will just let things alone (except provide a little credit assistance), everything will work out all right.

I am conscious of the record that the private building industry has built up since the war. I hope that private builders will start a record-breaking million homes this year, as everything seems to indicate. I am in favor of the credit aids from the federal government which are contained in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill which will help them achieve and maintain that record.

But I see nothing in the present situation that offers the hope that even with these credit aids, the private building industry will be able to achieve and maintain the production necessary to fill the enlarged goals that have been envisioned by the Joint Committee on Housing. Neither does the joint committee.

Let us take a look at the record. The previous peak in home building was reached 23 years ago, away back in 1925, when 937,000 dwelling units were started. Then construction began to slide down, helping to take the whole economy with it, until, in 1933, 93,000 homes, only ten per cent of the peak volume, were produced. Conditions in 1925 were very similar to what they are today. Homes were being built at prices and rents which only a small portion of American families could afford to pay. When that limited demand was filled, and when people who had over-extended themselves in a desperate search for homes became unable to meet mortgage payments, home building started down the toboggan slide. The result was that average housing production during the two decades before the war was only 500,000 homes a year, just enough to keep up with the increase in families and not enough to take worn-out and other bad houses out of use and send them to the junk yard.

This example which all of us remember characterizes the history of home construction, and this history will not change until one fun-

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damental characteristic of the industry as it existed then and exists today is changed. That characteristic is that not enough people can afford new housing at the prices and rents at which it is made available to permit a sustained production sufficient to meet American needs. There are two ways of assuring enough housing for the American people—one is through a public-housing program; the other is to bring the costs of private housing down, in relation to incomes, so that there will be enough demand to sustain the high rate of production which America needs. I think our emphasis should be on the latter. I think the government should utilize its resources fully to help private enterprise get its costs down. I would like to see this filtration theory we hear about work, but it will work only if you pour in enough new houses to crowd out the slums at the bottom.

It is hardly germane to say that the costs of housing have not increased any more than other prices, although there is good evidence that building costs, and the selling prices of both new and used houses, have exceeded the general rise in the costs of living and income. What is important is that new houses cost too much today to sustain production at the levels needed, just as they did in the thirties and twenties.

What is needed is for the home-building industry to catch up with the modern industrial parade. It needs to develop mass-production methods to serve the mass markets awaiting for it. It needs to have the shackles of outmoded building codes and restrictive practices removed. The federal government can help in two principal ways. It can adapt its credit aids to the needs of builders using modern production methods. This is done in S. 866. And it can inaugurate a program of research into new methods, materials, and techniques, and to encourage their adoption. This is done in S. 866. The authority would be, and should be, broad enough to permit the government to cooperate with home building in all aspects of housing, from the improvement of production methods in the factory down to the modernization of building codes. Congress will have ample opportunity to control the extent of these activities from year to year through the appropriations procedure.

I am hopeful that with the improved credit aids to private industry and a broad program of research, private enterprise will, in time, be able to take care of the housing needs of most of the American people. But I do not believe that with these aids private enterprise will be able to assume the burdens unaided of clearing out the festering slums in our cities. The changes in methods of production and distribution which we hope to see accomplished will not be sweeping or rapid enough to permit any early solution, by private enterprise, of the problems of low-income families living in urban slums or in the bad housing in our rural areas. Any comprehensive housing program must deal with these problems, too, if it is to accomplish decent homes for all American families. So the modest programs in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill of federal assistance for slum clearance and public housing and of direct credit and subsidies for the improvement of farm homes are essential parts of that bill.

I have heard it said that the way to clear slums is to get rid of them, but nobody has ever explained to me how private builders are going to be able to buy up slumland at its present costs, remove the old houses, and then replan and redevelop the areas with homes which people can afford to buy. Private builders will do as they always have done, and do their building on raw, inexpensive land. The essence of the urban redevelopment program contained in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill is for the government to share with local communities the excessive costs of acquiring and clearing slum areas so that the cleared land can be made available, primarily to private builders, at prices which represent a fair value at its new use.

Neither has anybody ever explained to me how private builders are going to provide decent homes at prices and rents which present slum dwellers, or other low-income families can afford to pay. The people who have talked so glibly about the fine workings of the filtration theory have recently come along with some figures which, assuming certain things happened, purported to show that private enterprise was building for low-income families. I am sure those figures are small comfort to the low-income veteran looking for a place in

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which to live, or to the low-income family huddled together in a decaying tenement. They certainly are not believed by 90 per cent of governors, mayors, and prominent individuals, including a majority of those connected with the home-building industry, who, according to a report issued by the Joint Committee on Housing, said that private enterprise would not be able to provide decent homes for all low-income families within the foreseeable future.

If, as opponents of this bill attempt to prove, 20 per cent of the houses built last year finally were priced at $4,500 or less, they are not in localities of greatest housing need or else they are shacks which are substandard to begin with, or soon will be. There are certainly no such numbers of decent homes in Washington or in my home city at that price. A recent census survey indicates that the average prices at which new homes are being sold today in Washington is $13,000 to $15,000. This is beyond the means of four-fifths of the families in Washington.

There is only one way I know of at the present time to hope that these families will have decent homes in which to live, and that is through public assistance.

The only other argument against public assistance for slum-clearance and public-housing programs that deserves serious consideration is that these are problems that the local communities can and should solve. The fact is that most cities cannot afford to take on the additional burden and that the few cities which can will be able to handle only a part of the problem. The governors and mayors who replied to the joint committee questionnaire sent out by Senator WAGNER agreed that the cities and states could not take care of all the needs of low-income families, and only a few thought they could go beyond local tax exemption for public housing projects. Their judgment is sustained by the report, Coordination of Federal and State Taxes, filed by Senator BRICKER. This report describes the financial strains being imposed upon the cities and states by higher costs of services, by the necessity for making up for wartime postponement of replacements, maintenance work, and new construction, and by the inflexibility of their principal sources of revenue—real-estate taxes. It is sustained by the heavy bond flotations of municipalities and by the increase in interest rates on such issues. It is obvious that if we leave the problem of slums and bad housing exclusively to the local communities, it will not be solved. I believe that the federal government, together with the local communities, has a responsibility for the people's housing needs. I think it needs to be concerned with the health and character of its people. I think it has some responsibility of seeing that children start out in life with the equality of opportunity that only decent homes can provide.

* * *

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, we have before us one of the two important measures to be considered at this session of the Congress. This is a peculiar session. It is a session called in the midst of a political campaign. It is not subject to ordinary rules. We cannot treat legislation in the ordinary way. When we returned we had the choice of opening the session to all legislation, of treating it as a regular session, of getting the committees going and putting all the machinery into action. If that were done, there was no hope that we could finish probably short of two months, at least.

PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM

Furthermore, the President then submitted a program which, if we had undertaken to consider it in detail, would easily have required six months before we could have taken up all the important measures, which involved many differences of opinion and which, after all, had not been neglected by Congress, but which in most cases simply involved disagreements between the Congress and the President. In that situation we were in the same position as were those who were in charge of the machinery of Congress in making a decision, and we made it in the statement which we issued at that time. I read from that statement, in part:

> In the President's program there is very little of an emergency nature. Most of the social welfare legislation proposed is of a permanent character—

And that applies to public housing—

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which can be considered more thoroughly next winter. The Democrats controlled Congress for 14 years, professing the greatest interest in social welfare legislation. Now they say that they failed to deal adequately with social security, education, health, and housing and blame the Republicans for not enacting the program they failed to enact during 14 years.

We believe, therefore, that this session should be limited to a short period as suggested by the President himself, and our efforts will be devoted to completing the session as soon as possible.

* * *

Continuing the statement:

> We will carefully examine all of the President's recommendations to determine whether there are any matters which can be dealt with promptly on an emergency basis.

On the particular question of housing we said:

> During the first week also, committees of both Houses will give further consideration to the housing problem and any proposals in respect thereto. Much already has been done to solve that problem. Stimulated by the legislation adopted by the Eightieth Congress, a million new dwelling units are being constructed this year, and their construction practically exhausts the materials and labor available for the purpose. This is more than twice the number of dwelling units constructed when the Truman administration, with every emergency power and millions of subsidy funds, was fumbling with the situation.

We may well remember that we gave the President every power to act. He established an administration under Mr. Wyatt which turned out to be such a complete failure that the President canceled the whole business and turned back four-fifths of the money which we had appropriated.

> We are deeply concerned with a long-range program increasing still further the number of homes to be constructed, but such a program involves serious complications and differences of opinion which cannot be dealt with adequately at this special session.

Mr. President, before signing that statement, I canvassed as thoroughly as I could the position of the House leaders who had opposed public housing, and I found that their position was still the same. It became clear to me that if that controversy were precipitated we would be here for several months. It was a permanent, long-range program, and, like many of the other things proposed by the President, it could be more adequately dealt with at the regular session.

So far as I myself am concerned, I propose to introduce at the next session a bill reinstating the general program of public housing and slum clearance, including rural housing, which is practically the same as the subsidized system which I am proposing for the cities.

So, Mr. President, the truth is that if we want the session to finish, we have substantially to agree with the House. It may be that the House is justified in its position, but the Constitution provides that no bill can pass unless the House, as well as the Senate, agrees to it. Both Houses have a veto on legislation. Doing the best I can, and with a sincere desire to put through a public-housing program, I recognize that it cannot be done at this time. Therefore we sought to develop a bill which would do everything that could be done without becoming involved in an extremely controversial long-term question of public housing.

* * *

Mr. MORSE, Republican, Oregon. Mr. President, on the McCarthy substitute I must announce that I will have to vote against it, not only because of its demerits but also because of the parliamentary procedure which is being used in connection with it. Some of us on this side of the aisle are being asked to eat political crow filled with political poison. We are being asked to swallow our convictions and reverse the vote we cast just a few months ago in support of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. I say the place to work out any compromise on this legislation is in conference. Under the statesmanship of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] we passed the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill last spring. It was a sound bill then. It is a sound bill now. The Senator has safeguarded it with all the conditions and checks necessary to prevent socialization of housing in this country.

Mr. President, I will not go back on the

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vote previously cast in the Senate, because one thing I stand on as a constitutional liberal is a record of consistency in the Senate of the United States. The place for the Republican side of the aisle to adjust differences on this issue of housing is in conference, and then let the conferees give us their last best compromise on the issue. We should stand on our rights and our convictions in the Senate and not let leaders in the House dictate to us the form in which our legislation must be sent to the House.

Mr. BARKLEY, Democrat, Kentucky. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] seems obsessed with the idea that the President of the United States has asked Congress to pass adequate housing legislation for political reasons and with political motives. If the Congress of the United States, which adjourned in June, or at least a coordinate branch of the Congress, the Senate of the United States, had given the House of Representatives an opportunity to vote on what the Senate passed, the President of the United States in all likelihood would not have been compelled to call Congress back in order to pass adequate legislation. The Senator from Ohio apparently has surrendered his position on the question; whether out of conviction or of expediency I do not know, and I am not concerned; but it seems to me unfortunate, to say the least, that the Congress as a whole without regard to any political implications, without regard to any issues which may be drawn from its action or its failure to act, is denied the opportunity to vote on the sort of housing bill it might easily vote to enact if given an opportunity.

The Senator from Ohio may surrender his position, either through conviction or expediency or at the point of a shotgun, but I do not myself propose to surrender my convictions upon the housing situation. It seems to me it is a denial of the democratic process of legislation for any man or any group of men in any legislative body to deny their own members the right to pass upon a bill the Senate has passed and sent to them, by saying they will not even allow it to go to conference if we pass it again.

The Senator from Ohio referred the other day to a report the President sent to the Congress. He had the privilege, which none of the rest of us enjoy, of seeing that report 24 hours before it was made available to the rest of us, through the courtesy of one of the members of the committee. But the housing referred to in that report and the housing the Senator from Ohio now uses as an alibi, so to speak, against the pending bill, does no good to the low-income groups of the country. Under it no veteran can build or buy a house. The veterans of the country have asked us to provide them houses, or to provide them the possibility of building or buying houses. Instead of giving them a house, we do not even give them a dugout or a pillbox. The low-income people of the country have asked Congress to make it possible for them to buy or build houses or to acquire them. We not only do not give them a house or the opportunity to have a house; we do not even allow them a trailer or a tent or a shed in which they may house themselves and their families.

* * *

Mr. LUCAS, Democrat, Illinois. I understand that William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has telegraphed Governor Dewey as to where he stands upon this, and asked him whether he will not say something. That telegram has been unanswered. A. F. Whitney, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, sent a similar message. His telegram remains unanswered. Walter Reuther, a leader in the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has also telegraphed Governor Dewey. His telegram remains unanswered by the nervous man in Albany, New York.

Mr. President, the President of the United States has told the country time and time again where he stands upon housing legislation, and with all the sincerity I possess, I believe the great Governor of New York owed it to the Congress and to the people of the country to make a statement upon this controversial issue which is before the Senate. He is the leader of the Republican Party at the present time. He is the candidate for President upon the Republican ticket. When an issue so vital, so important to millions of people in the low-income groups of the nation, is before us as it is today, I seriously contend that the gentleman representing the Republicans in the great campaign to come should have spoken

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out as clearly and as definitely and as bravely as the President of the United States has spoken upon the issue.

* * *

Mr. McCARTHY. . . . I point out—and if I am incorrect, I hope the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] will correct me in the eight minutes which remain to him—that there is not a single objection by either the Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS] or the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] or any other Senators to anything in the McCarthy amendment. It is a poor man's housing bill. It liberalizes loans for low-cost housing; it liberalizes loans for veterans' cooperatives; it increases the secondary market. Unless these things are done, a year from now the housing situation will be much more acute than it is today. Unless we adopt the McCarthy amendment we shall have no housing legislation. After all, it is extremely ridiculous for this body to say that our solution of the housing problem is again to send to the House the identical bill which we sent it four months ago. A majority of the House Rules Committee has decided that that bill is not wanted. There has been an attempt in the House to have more than half of the House membership sign a petition to compel the Committee on Rules to report the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill in its present form, so that it may be acted on by the House. Despite tremendous pressure, the House has fallen far short of getting that number, which indicates that a majority of the House itself does not at this time want public housing.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from Wisconsin has expired. The Senator from New Hampshire is recognized.

Mr. TOBEY. For how long?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. For eight minutes.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, first I wish to say that I welcome sincerely to the Senate the goodly group of the members of the House of Representatives who are in the rear of the chamber, who have come over for edification and understanding.

Mr. President, I rise today in earnest opposition to the substitute offered by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MCCARTHY]. He has waved the bogey of no housing. I cannot for a minute agree. The only question before the Senate is as to whether or not it will reopen or reject its long-held position in favor of housing legislation under the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill.

The Senator from Wisconsin has done a good job in polishing up a few sections of—guess what, Mr. President—the T.E.W. bill. Yes; all that the Senator from Wisconsin has done is propose a substitute that will benefit the builders and those wealthy and moderately well-to-do people who can afford to buy their own homes. But what is done about those many fellow Americans who, through no fault of their own, are in no position at this time to enter into loan contracts, no matter how liberal the terms may be? The answer is, absolutely nothing.

The Senator from Wisconsin said, with a quaver in his voice and pathetic pseudo sympathy, "This is a poor man's housing bill." What a distorted understanding he represents. The poor would be denied under the McCarthy substitute. There would be no public housing, no slum clearance, for long-range purposes. I deplore this omission. But more important, Mr. President, the Senate itself shares my attitude, for three times the Senate of the United States has recorded itself for the inclusion of public housing and slum clearance.

Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin makes a pseudo effort on the Senate floor, but there is the RECORD of last April. He voted "No" on public housing. Trust the friends of public housing, and not its enemies.

The big powers should declare definitely where they stand, and upon whom.

—*New York Star*

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FORUM FEATURES

With his portrait of Léon Jouhaux, Frederick H. Cramer completes the third in his studies of the European Socialist leaders who have tried to form a bridge "between East and West." Mr. Cramer has just returned from a nine month's tour of Europe. In addition to lecturing at the University of Zurich, he traveled in France, Italy, and Germany. His opinions are thus based on observation of the European scene as it is; his plea for our support of the remaining Socialist leaders is practical rather than theoretical. A portrait of Karl Renner, *Bundespraesident* of the Austrian Republic, will complete the series.

Sidney B. Fay, Professor Emeritus of History at Harvard University, has long been an authoritative interpreter of German history. He presents a statistical report on Germany's population problems. The actual figures have had little publicity but they can hardly be ignored in any constructive policy undertaken by the Western Powers in Germany.

Felix E. Hirsch, Librarian and Professor of History at Bard College, was a political editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt* for ten years. He brings his knowledge of German politics to bear upon the present crisis in Berlin. His access to the German language press both here and abroad gives valuable insight to *Forum* readers.

Ed Ritter, well known to *Forum* readers for his articles on education, is now teaching English in Corona High School, Corona, California. In "Public Relations in Public Schools," Mr. Ritter offers practical advice for teachers and parents to stimulate interest in public education. Mr. Ritter knows; his plan worked in California.

The Congressional debate on housing points out, as no textbook on government could, the influence of pressure groups on legislation and the deficiencies of our bicameral, co-equal legislative system. In an outburst of un-Senatorial frankness, Senator Tobey, of New Hampshire, points his finger at the House Rules Committee and the Chairman of the Committee. The Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill was passed three times by the Senate and blocked three times by the Chairman of the House Rules Committee, thus denying the House an opportunity to express an opinion on it. Senator Tobey lost his fight to have slum clearance and low-cost housing provisions included in the housing bill passed by the Senate, but the significance of that fight can hardly be lost on the public.

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